

In Modern Times

EUROPE

IN
MODERN
TIMES
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WARREN O. AULT
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TO MY NEPHEW

Lieut. John Howard Campbell, Jr.

WHO DIED IN COMBAT

ON OKINAWA

MAY 23, 1945

PREFACE

EACH RECURRENT crisis of man's affairs gives to the study and writing of history fresh impetus. The swift sequence of great events matures and readjusts our interest in the past. Its chapters assume a new proportion and stand in need of reconsideration.

In this book the author has been much concerned to explain how things have come to be what they are and, so far as he could, to explain why. But the author also believes that in the study of our ancestors we need to concern ourselves not only with what matters to us but also, in some measure, with what mattered to them. It is the maturing experience of such a study that gives perspective, tolerance, and a sobering sense of the complexity of human life.

The successive periods of this history are introduced by one or more chapters in which the main currents are discussed at some length. With this exception there is little segregation of cultural and other matters. Human history is the product of many factors and these are best understood if viewed synoptically.

As a teacher the author believes in the principle that "a student should not be taught more than he can think about." This has been the guiding principle in the selection, and exclusion, of historical material. In these times, of course, some of the matters a student can and should think about are global, both in extent and in significance.

Inasmuch as many students begin their study of modern history with little knowledge of previous ages, the early chapters of this book include much medieval material.

Boston, 1946.

WARREN O. AULT
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CONTENTS



SECTION ONE

The Emergence of Modern Europe

| | | |
|-----|--|----|
| I | The Rise of National Monarchies | 3 |
| II | Economic Revolution and Expansion | 34 |
| III | The Awakening in Learning, Art, and Science | 52 |
| IV | The Reformation and the Founding of State Churches | 81 |

SECTION TWO

Religious Wars and National Readjustments, 1550-1650

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| V | The Catholic Reformation and the Ascendancy of Spain | 111 |
| VI | Founding of the Dutch State | 125 |
| VII | France: Civil War and Recovery | 133 |
| VIII | Germany and Europe in the Thirty Years' War | 142 |
| IX | England: Political and Religious Readjustments, 1558-1689 | 150 |
| X | Beginnings of Dutch, English, and French Expansion | 172 |

SECTION THREE

The Old Regime at Its Height, 1660-1789

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| XI | The Old Regime: Political Thought, Social Conditions, Scientific Advance | 185 |
| XII | Louis XIV and French Predominance | 207 |
| XIII | Rise of Russia; Dismemberment of Poland | 229 |
| XIV | Developments in Germany, Especially in Prussia and Austria, 1650-1800 | 246 |
| XV | England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1689-1763; the Struggle for Empire | 265 |
| XVI | The Enlightenment | 283 |

SECTION FOUR

Liberalism and Nationalism, 1775-1871

| | | |
|--------|--|-----|
| xvii | Liberalism in Britain and America | 307 |
| xviii | The French Revolution | 316 |
| xix | France and Europe under Napoleon | 340 |
| xx | The Congress of Vienna; Revolution Retarded | 361 |
| xxi | The Agricultural and Industrial Revolution | 374 |
| xxii | England to 1848: Parliamentary Reform and Middle-Class Supremacy | 383 |
| xxiii | French Liberalism to 1848 | 395 |
| xxiv | Nationalism and Liberalism in Central Europe to 1848 | 409 |
| xxv | The Revolution of 1848 | 429 |
| xxvi | Napoleon III of France; Unification in Italy | 442 |
| xxvii | Unification of Germany and the Fall of Napoleon III | 454 |
| xxviii | Russia, Turkey, and Eastern Europe, 1815-1878 | 469 |

SECTION FIVE

Democracy, Industrialism, Internationalism

| | | |
|----------|--|-----|
| xxix | Science, Industry, and Democracy, 1870-1914 | 485 |
| xxx | The Second Reich | 507 |
| xxxi | France, 1870 to 1914 | 521 |
| xxxii | Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1867-1914 | 533 |
| xxxiii | Russia and the Balkans to 1914 | 547 |
| xxxiv | Great Britain and Ireland to 1914 | 561 |
| xxxv | European Imperialism in India and the Far East | 575 |
| xxxvi | The First World War | 597 |
| ✓xxxvii | The Versailles Settlement | 624 |
| ✓xxxviii | New World Order, 1919-1933: A Noble Experiment | 638 |
| ✓xxxix | Democratic Trends and Economic Troubles | 655 |
| xl | The Russian Revolution and the U.S.S.R. | 674 |
| xli | The Trend toward Dictatorship | 687 |
| xlII | Asia for the Asiatics | 705 |
| xlIII | The Road to War | 727 |

Contents

xi

| | | |
|---------------------|---|-----|
| XLIV | The Second World War: Ascendancy of the Axis Powers | 747 |
| XLV | The Second World War: Unconditional Surrender | 774 |
| Genealogical Tables | | 811 |
| For Further Reading | | 821 |
| Index | | 839 |

ILLUSTRATIONS



| | |
|--|-------------------|
| EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I <i>A portrait by H. Burgkmair.</i> <i>Reproduced by courtesy of Arthur Burkhard.</i> | Facing page 46 |
| NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI | 47 |
| PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR <i>From a seventeenth-century print</i> | |
| THE BANKER AND HIS WIFE <i>From a painting by Quinten Massys</i> | |
| POPE JULIUS II <i>An engraving from a portrait by Raphael</i> | 78 |
| ERASMUS <i>By Holbein</i> | |
| PANORAMA OF FLORENCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY | |
| PERSEUS <i>By Benvenuto Cellini</i> | 79 |
| GATTAMELATA <i>By Donatello</i> | |
| BASILICA OF ST. PETER, ROME | |
| MARTIN LUTHER <i>By Cranach</i> | 110 |
| JOHN CALVIN | |
| IGNATIUS LOYOLA <i>By Montañes</i> | |
| PHILIP II OF SPAIN | |
| WILLIAM THE SILENT <i>By Mierevelt</i> | 111 |
| HUGO GROTIUS | |
| THE QUAY AT AMSTERDAM <i>By Ruisdael</i> | |
| "MISERIES OF WAR" <i>By Jacques Callot</i> | 142 |
| HENRY IV OF FRANCE AND MARIE DE' MEDICI <i>By Rubens</i> | |
| WALLENSTEIN | 143 |
| THE DEFENESTRATION OF PRAGUE | |
| QUEEN ELIZABETH WITH LORD BURGHLEY AND SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM | 174 |
| EAST INDIA HOUSE <i>From a contemporary engraving</i> | |

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| OLIVER CROMWELL <i>By F. Mazot. Reproduced by courtesy of W. C. Abbott.</i> | <i>Facing page</i> 175 |
| A NAVAL ATTACK ON THE PORT OF SAN SALVADOR, BRAZIL | |
| THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN, 1632 <i>From Theatrum Europaeum</i> | 206 |
| VIEW OF THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES ABOUT 1700 | 207 |
| LOUIS XIV BREAKFASTING WITH MOLIERE | |
| FREDERICK THE GREAT <i>By Menzel</i> | 270 |
| THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO | |
| CATHERINE THE GREAT OF RUSSIA | |
| WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER <i>By Gainsborough</i> | |
| THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE | 271 |
| VOLTAIRE | 302 |
| JOHN LOCKE | |
| JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU <i>By Allan Ramsay</i> | |
| ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON | 303 |
| THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON <i>From a contemporary engraving</i> | |
| THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI | 334 |
| THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE, JULY 14, 1789 | |
| NAPOLEON I | 335 |
| PRINCE METTERNICH | 366 |
| DUKE OF WELLINGTON <i>By Goya</i> | |
| THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA | |
| COAL MINING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY | 367 |
| WATT'S STEAM ENGINE | |
| ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING FRAME | |
| NAPOLEON III AND BISMARCK | 526 |
| THE COMMUNE, PARIS, 1871 | |
| LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS | 527 |
| PARIS DURING THE SIEGE, 1870-1871 | |
| THE KAISER AND KING FERDINAND OF BULGARIA | 558 |
| NIKOLAI LENIN | |
| TSAR NICHOLAS II | |

Illustrations

xv

| | <i>Facing page</i> |
|---|--------------------|
| RED SQUARE, MOSCOW | 559 |
| FUNERAL OF THE VICTIMS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1905, ST. PETERSBURG | |
| RUSSIAN FLEET ENTERING PORT ARTHUR | 590 |
| RUSSIAN FLEET AFTER THE JAPANESE ATTACK | |
| "JAP THE GIANT KILLER" <i>From Punch</i> | |
| MOHANDAS K. GANDHI | 591 |
| A CRACK INDIAN REGIMENT | |
| IRRIGATION METHODS IN CHINA | |
| CLOTH HALL, YPRES, 1914 | 622 |
| CLOTH HALL, YPRES, 1918 | |
| WOODROW WILSON | 623 |
| DAVID LLOYD GEORGE | |
| GEORGES CLEMENCEAU | |
| NATIONALIST FORCES ENTER MADRID | 750 |
| CHINA APPEALS TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS | |
| YOUNG FASCISTS IN ITALY | 751 |
| ADOLF HITLER | |
| THE "BIG THREE" | 782 |
| GERMAN AND ITALIAN WAR PRISONERS IN AFRICA, DECEMBER, 1942 | |
| DAY AND NIGHT OVER GERMANY | 783 |

MAPS

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Europe in 1500 | 7 |
| The Netherlands at the Truce of 1609 | 129 |
| Europe in 1648 | <i>facing</i> 148 |
| European Expansion prior to 1700 | 177 |
| Growth of France, 1552-1715 | 218 |
| Growth of Russia | 236 |
| The Partitions of Poland | 242 |
| Growth of Prussia | 250 |

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| India in 1783 | 277 |
| Europe in 1789 | <i>facing</i> 318 |
| Europe in 1812 | <i>facing</i> 350 |
| Europe after the Congress of Vienna | <i>facing</i> 362 |
| Unification of Italy | 451 |
| Unification of Germany, 1815-1871 | 459 |
| Partition of Africa | 497 |
| Dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire | 556 |
| Extension of British Rule in India | 578 |
| The Far East about 1900 | 588 |
| The Western Front, 1914-1918 | 611 |
| Territorial Changes in Europe, 1918-1923 | 628 |
| The Near East | 710 |
| Invasion of the Low Countries and France | 754 |
| The War in Russia | 778 |
| Theater of War in the Pacific | 781 |
| Allied Advance in Italy | 785 |
| Invasion of Normandy | 788 |
| The Russo-Polish Border | 799 |

EUROPE

In Modern Times

SECTION ONE



The Emergence of Modern Europe

THERE ARE four main ways in which the rise of modern Europe may be studied. In political organization, the universalism of the medieval Empire was giving way to a differentiation into nation-states. In the economic realm, city dwellers were discovering the power of capital and increasingly making use of it in their affairs, while the rural masses were raising themselves from serfdom to freedom. At the same time an intellectual revolution was taking place as writers, artists, and scholars began to question the great authorities of the middle ages and made bold to take a fresh look at man and nature. Finally, a great religious upheaval now broke the universality of papal power and brought about the establishment of national churches.

All four developments went forward simultaneously and in close interaction with each other. No one of them can be fully understood until all have been studied. We make a beginning with a chapter on the rise of national monarchies and the modern state system. If it seems to the reader that the dynasties and politics with which this chapter deals in part are surface facts of secondary importance, let him reflect that at the very least they supply us with a chronological framework in which we may fix, for better understanding, the enduring achievements of the period—in thought, in religion, and in economic life.

CHAPTER I

The Rise of National Monarchies

THE POLITICAL ideal of western Europe in the middle ages was Christian unity under an emperor whose duty was to maintain peace through a rule of righteousness and justice. There was always the problem of reconciling this concept in practice and even as an idea with the claims of the papacy, which was really the more powerful institution. In the purely political realm, moreover, two other types of organization arose to challenge the pretensions of the Empire: the city-state, whose region of most brilliant development was northern Italy, and the nation-state, whose early development is well discerned in France, Spain, and England. Eastern Europe was a world apart, its cultural and institutional relationships more with Asia than with western Europe.

The Medieval Empire

The medieval ideal of empire found partial realization in the state founded by Charlemagne, king of the Franks, early in the ninth century. Shortly after his death the Frankish empire fell apart, however, and only the empty title of "emperor" remained. A century later the imperial ideal received a fresh embodiment when Otto I of Germany was crowned emperor by the pope at Rome (A.D. 962). Thus began a close association between Germany and the Empire that was destined to continue for many centuries. During the first three centuries the primary objective of the successive kings of Germany was the maintenance and extension of their imperial authority.

The imperial ideal was never possible of realization, however, a fact which became more and more apparent as time went on. The lands owing allegiance to the Empire at its widest extent included little more than Germany and Italy. In France and England rising young monarchies repulsed the pretensions of the emperor from the first. Italy itself was lost in the end, despite the valiant efforts of a whole series of German kings who signed away nearly all their authority at home in the attempt to maintain themselves south of the Alps. The city-states of northern Italy, individually or in leagues, with the powerful support of the papacy,

finally reduced the imperial authority to a shadow. By the close of the thirteenth century the dream of a united Christendom ceased to occupy the minds of practical men, though it still appealed to the imagination of poets and philosophers. The political organization and the political ideas of the later medieval centuries were in closer touch with realities. What were those realities?

The Empire in the Later Middle Ages

The Empire of late medieval and early modern centuries was synonymous with Germany. And what was Germany? Little more than a geographical expression. Bound to the chariot wheel of the imperial idea, the German state had been broken into many pieces. Most of the fragments were still loosely held together by the German monarchy, but the kings of Germany as such no longer had a revenue or an armed force. A French writer of the sixteenth century defined a sovereign as one who has "power to give laws to each and every one of his subjects and to receive none from them." The feudal barons of Germany answered better to this definition than did the emperor.

The feudal principalities in Germany had become more and more numerous, partly because of the custom of equal division among the male heirs, each son being invested with his father's title. Each noble family sought to root itself in the soil, be its holding only a few square miles in extent. The German bishops and abbots, whose estates of course were not subject to such subdivision, were no less zealous for power than the lay princes, and the ecclesiastical states of Germany became increasingly important. Besides the princes of the church and the lay barons there was an increasing number of "free cities" in the Empire, cities which had won many of the rights of self-government. All in all, there were more than three hundred political particles in Germany by the close of the middle ages.

A form of unity was maintained through an imperial Diet, an assembly of all the princes together with the representatives of the free cities. This body sat in three houses. The first was composed of the greater princes, ecclesiastical and lay, who elected the emperor, the second of the lesser princes, and the third of delegates from the cities. The Diet met infrequently. It had no authority save what its members might give voluntarily, and any decision of the Diet, to be of effect, had to be practically unanimous. Delegates often came late, or not at all. Those who came promptly were frequently obliged to leave, after some months of expensive delay, before dilatory delegates had arrived. A motion to adjourn was sometimes debated for weeks. Not until late in the fifteenth century could

a majority bind a minority and it was even later before absent members agreed to be bound by the decisions of those present.

It need hardly be said that no German dynasty had ever established an hereditary claim to the throne. The kingship remained elective. The ancient tribal custom of election by the people had given way, with the advent of feudalism, to election by the princes. As the number of princes great and small increased to a swarm, confusion arose and disputed elections multiplied. In 1356 it was established that seven princes should constitute the electoral body; namely, the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trèves, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine. The archbishop of Mainz was invested with the functions of secretary. It was his duty, within three months of the death of an emperor, to summon the electoral college to Frankfurt. Election was by simple majority, each elector having the right to vote for himself if he so desired. The king-elect was given the title of King of the Romans, and was to be known as emperor only after coronation by the pope. Loss of power south of the Alps made it increasingly difficult for successive kings to make the journey to Rome; indeed, many of them omitted to do so. In 1508 Maximilian I secured the sanction of Pope Julius II, for the use of the title Roman Emperor Elect while waiting to be crowned. This established a precedent. Thenceforth kings of Germany were known as emperors without further ado, and if in later times someone came across the fuller phrase Roman Emperor Elect in a formal document, he took it as a reference to the elective character of the German monarchy.

The emperors of the later medieval and early modern centuries were chosen for their mediocrity. It was well understood that they would not attempt to increase their authority over their fellow German princes. The emperors of this period generally devoted themselves to extending the private possessions of their families, freely using the prestige and the few remaining rights of the imperial office to that end.

Weak and divided as was the German state, there were occasionally faint stirrings of consciousness in the German nation. In the latter part of the fifteenth century a reform movement sprang up. Count Berthold of Mainz with other princes of the second rank laid certain proposals before the Diet of Frankfurt in 1485. They proposed the abolition of the private war of prince against prince, with a supreme court of justice to enforce the prohibition, a single national system of currency, and an imperial tax called the "common penny," the proceeds of which were to be used in part to finance an imperial army. But these increases in the power and resources of the emperor were to remain under the supreme control of the Diet, in the view of the reform party, and this the emperor found

quite unacceptable. Reform failed, and we have in Germany the strange spectacle of a movement toward national unification supported by the barons and opposed by the monarchy. In the Lutheran movement, a little later, the German nation almost found itself, but in the end civil wars left Germany more divided than ever, though the German people had begun to speak, however discordantly, a common language.

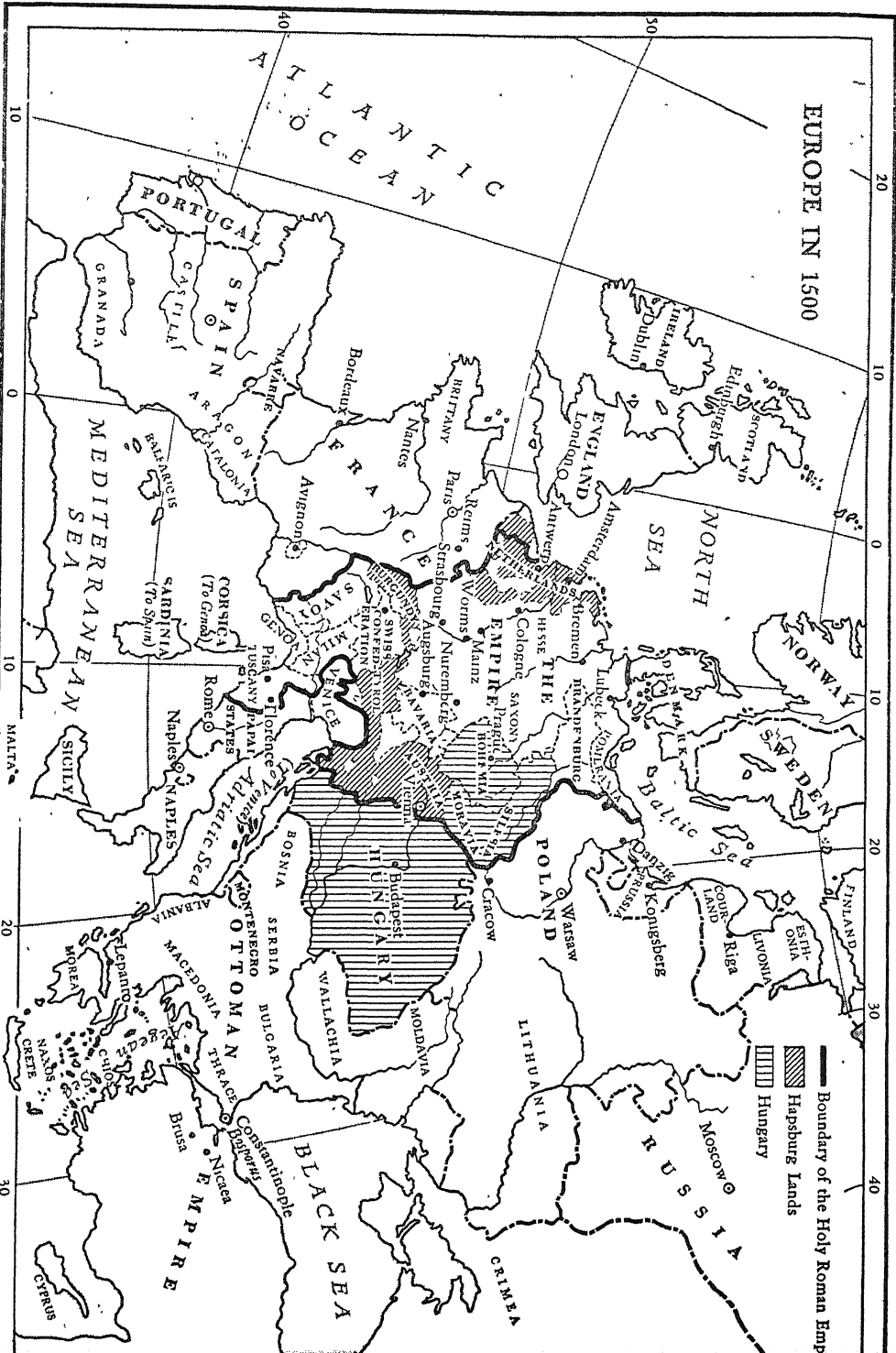
The Hapsburgs

Greatest of German noble families in this period were the Hapsburgs. The founder of the family was Rudolph, who was chosen emperor in 1273. He was one of the smaller princes of Germany at the time and he owed his election to that fact, as well as to the tacit understanding that he would be a "good" emperor, not troubling the German barons nor fighting windmills in Italy. Rudolph's patrimony was a bit of the old duchy of Swabia. As emperor he enjoyed the feudal rights of escheat and forfeiture. When in 1278 the king of Bohemia, Ottocar II, who had built up an extensive empire of Slavic and German lands, fell in battle and his holdings were dispersed, Rudolph, exercising his feudal rights, skillfully gathered in some of the dead king's lands. In this way the archduchy of Austria, with Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, passed into Rudolph's hands, a compact block of territory stretching from the Adriatic northward to the Danube. Thus began the famous association of Austria with the house of Hapsburg. By slow accretion and not without painful reverses the holdings of this family increased. The Hapsburgs were famous for extending their lands by marriage with well-endowed families. Hungary was thus acquired, and Bohemia. In 1477 occurred the marriage of Maximilian I of Hapsburg to Mary of Burgundy, heiress of that "middle kingdom," lying along the Rhine and including the Netherlands, which the dukes of Burgundy had for some time been putting together. Then in 1496 Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary, married Joanna of Castile, heiress of Spain. The son of this marriage was Charles V, who was chosen emperor in 1519. Through the deaths, successively, of his father, his father-in-law, and his grandfather, young Charles at nineteen came into the possession of all the vast holding of the Hapsburgs in Europe and the New World. He was Europe's greatest political figure since Charlemagne.

Origin of Switzerland

A notable feature of German history in the later middle ages was the rise of Switzerland. In the Alps, along the St. Gotthard route from Germany to Italy, lived isolated communities of peasants whose sole oc-

EUROPE IN 1500



cupation was cattle raising. A thirteenth-century emperor, the better to secure the pass into Italy, established three of these communities, Uri and Schwyz and Unterwalden, as self-governing cantons with himself as immediate overlord. The rise of the house of Hapsburg half a century later threatened the privileged position of the three communities, and in 1291 they joined in a "Perpetual Compact," pledging mutual cooperation in defense but reserving full powers, under the Empire, in other respects. This is the germ of Switzerland. Other peasant communities and several neighboring towns, Lucerne, Zurich, Basel, and others, joined the confederation. The land-hungry Hapsburgs repeatedly sought to reduce the cantons from the status of self-governing members of the Diet to one of dependence upon themselves as dukes of Austria. This the cantons resisted, heroically and in the end successfully. As against the armored and mounted knights of Austria, the Swiss defense was foot soldiers armed with pikes. Formed in a hollow square with their pikes projecting horizontally the Swiss peasants and burghers were more than a match for the feudal array of the Hapsburgs. The Swiss pike became a standard weapon of western Europe.

The Italian States

More clearly defined physically, Italy was farther than Germany from the goal of national unity at the close of the medieval period. The Italian peninsula was the most populous region of Europe; its cities were numerous, progressive, and wealthy. There was, however, no semblance of political unity in the peninsula, nor the faintest suggestion of national self-consciousness. A dozen states maintained themselves in complete independence of each other.

This condition was the natural result of a conflict of forces of which Italy had been the battleground for centuries. The Eastern Empire from its seat in Constantinople had striven throughout the early centuries of the Christian era to maintain itself at Ravenna. In Rome and its environs the papacy had established itself, and it was the objective of papal policy to maintain a completely sovereign status in central Italy. Successive kings of Germany, inheritors of the imperial ideal, fought with all their strength and skill to maintain their authority in northern Italy and even in Rome. Meanwhile, as the medieval centuries wore away, a powerful state was established in southern Italy and Sicily by a Norman dynasty from north of the Alps, displacing the earlier authority of the Eastern Empire. At the same time a revival of industry and commerce brought wealth and population to a score or more of the cities of the north. Self-government followed, and after a long struggle the claim of the German emperors to lordship over the Lombard cities became a mere form.

The city-states of Italy were the most effective political organizations known to the middle ages. As a political type the city-state has well-nigh vanished, but from ancient times through the middle ages many successful and even brilliant examples have appeared. The city-state belongs to an age when the freest flow of traffic, whether of men or goods, was confined by lack of adequate facilities or the insecurity of the times to a limited area around individual cities. There industry and trade, social intercourse, intellectual and political life, could be carried on with such intensity that a well-integrated community could be established and maintained. During this time, moreover, the nation-state with its monarchical leadership and wide patriotic support was, for the most part, unknown.

The strongest of the city-states of northern Italy was Venice. Exploiting with fine intelligence the many natural advantages of her location, the merchants of Venice by the middle of the thirteenth century had built at the crossroads of medieval trade a great commercial state. Two centuries later the spread of Turkish conquest in the Near East extinguished the Venetian trading posts one by one and closed many avenues of Venetian commerce. An even greater catastrophe was to come in the gradual relocation of the great highways of trade as Europe faced about and sought the Far East by western and southern routes. The astute rulers of Venice saw the handwriting on the wall and began the slow process of transforming Venice from a commercial to a land power. The republic had long since ceased to be a democracy and all authority was vested in a Great Council of nobles, mostly merchant princes. The number of nobles was large, but the formulation and execution of most business was reserved for small groups of elected councilors, usually men of superior ability. Of these groups the Council of Ten was famous for its swift and secret action. The doge, titular head of the state, was a mere puppet in the hands of the nobles. The masses were encouraged to remain in a state of complete political indifference.

Neighbor and bitter rival of Venice was Milan, at first a city-state ruled by a guild of merchants, then a great territorial power covering most of Lombardy and ruled by hereditary princes. For a century and a half the Visconti family maintained itself in Milan by sharp and crafty statesmanship. Then in 1450 the famous soldier of fortune Francesco Sforza, son of a plowman, rose to be captain of the Milanese mercenaries and hero of a victory over Venice. He married a daughter of the Visconti and became duke of Milan, the first of a succession of Sforzas. Their government was what we should call a dictatorship, but it was the promoter of prosperity in the state, the patron of art and letters, and it was not unpopular.

Like Milan, Florence had formerly been an exclusively industrial and

trading city governed by her guilds, and then became a territorial state controlled by local princes. Though republican in form, the government of Florence was dominated, in the middle of the fifteenth century, by Cosimo de' Medici, head of a wealthy family of bankers. He pulled the wires behind the scenes. Under his brilliant grandson Lorenzo (d. 1492), Medici control was franker and more complete. During the fifteenth century Florence became the greatest center of Renaissance art in Italy. Masterpieces of Florentine art are today the prized possession of art galleries throughout the world.

Savonarola

One remarkable Florentine of the period was neither an artist nor a patron of art; to him, indeed, the current passion for art was sinful. Savonarola was not a native of Florence. Born in Ferrara, he had been trained as a Dominican monk at Bologna. In 1491, however, he became prior of the convent of San Marco at Florence. He proceeded to identify himself closely with the life of the city. He was deeply stirred by the godless life of the wealthy classes, by their utter worldliness. The poverty of the masses moved him to eloquent protest. Savonarola reached the conclusion that the root of all evil in Florence was the dominance of the Medici. In a series of bold and dramatic sermons the Dominican monk, like a prophet of old, pronounced the doom of Florence unless she changed her ways. Among his sympathetic listeners were the artists Botticelli and Michelangelo. Luckily, or unluckily, the prophecy of the militant monk was fulfilled. Italy was invaded by the French in 1494.

Piero de' Medici fled to Venice, and the Florentines under the leadership of Savonarola set up a republic "with Christ as king." Unfortunately the prophet was not a statesman. His constitution gave no recognition to influential families. His taxes, based upon unsound principles, and his imprudent budgeting led to the levying of forced loans and to tampering with the currency. Savonarola, in fact, was more concerned with moral objectives. Under his leadership a code was drawn up which abolished gambling, horse racing, blasphemy, and even bonfires and dancing. The monk issued decrees regulating women's dress. Drastic penalties were assessed and rigid enforcement attempted. His fanatical followers, called "the weepers" (*piagnoni*), cleansed the city and made a great bonfire of objectionable books and pictures, wigs, and other "vanities." Children were especially active in this campaign.

Savonarola's enemies were not idle; nor were they confined to Florence. Much of the responsibility for the evils of the time had been laid by Savonarola at the door of the pope. This does not mean that this monk was a precursor of the Protestant Reformation, as Luther later claimed.

Savonarola was a loyal son of the church, but like many another loyal son he felt that the church needed a thorough cleansing at the hands of its friends. A graver matter was that the pope of the day, Alexander VI, found himself on the side opposed to Savonarola in the game of Italian politics. Savonarola's Florentine enemies finally won over the mob, and the valiant Dominican was hanged (1498) in the very square where the famous bonfire of vanities had taken place only a year before. The Medici returned.

The Papal States

The papal states stretched across the peninsula in a northerly direction from Rome to the Adriatic. Included were the districts of the Campagna, Spoleto, Ancona, and Romagna. Successful in maintaining their claim to these territories against the world at large, the popes had been far less successful in organizing their authority at home. The Italian vassals of the pope were powerful and unruly. The Roman populace had more than once made Rome impossible as a papal residence.

Following the trend of the times, successive popes sought to consolidate their holdings and centralize their authority. This preoccupation with local politics was accompanied by a comparative neglect of the spiritual interests of the church, a situation which contributed not a little to the Protestant revolt. The most successful of a series of "political popes" was Alexander VI (1492-1503), already mentioned. Of Spanish birth, originally named Roderigo Borgia, Alexander VI differed little as a ruler from the other princes of Italy save that he was a more efficient administrator and a more practical statesman than most of them. He pursued a family policy in his plans for centralization, utilizing the charms of his daughter Lucrezia and the craft, perfidy, and military skill of his son Cesare. An even greater asset than his children was the pope's own diplomatic art. It is known that at one and the same time he was negotiating with the Spaniards to drive the French from Italy, with the French to drive out the Spaniards, and with Venice to drive out both. Well advanced when Alexander VI died, the unifying work was continued by his successor, Julius II (1503-1513), a pontiff whose worldly ambitions were scarcely less ardent. Leo X (1513-1521) was the third pope in succession who looked upon himself primarily as an Italian prince. As a Medici he found it natural to be a patron of art.

Naples and Sicily

In southern Italy and Sicily a Norman dynasty had extinguished the last remnants of imperial authority in the tenth and eleventh centuries

and had welded the discordant elements of the population, Latin, Greek, Moslem, and Jewish, into a semblance of unity. This same dynasty then organized a strongly centralized monarchy, the first in Europe, and fostered a culture which was in some respects the precursor and inspirer of the Italian Renaissance. This culture found little to sustain it in the land of its birth, however, and the kingdom of Naples, which usually included Sicily, fell far behind the north of Italy in enlightenment. This southern kingdom was the poorest section of the peninsula, though the most populous. It was the fate of Naples, earlier than the other states of Italy, to be ruled by foreign dynasties. Normans gave place to Hohenstaufens, and the German dynasty in turn, through opposition of the papacy, to the French house of Anjou (thirteenth century). The Spanish house of Aragon, already in possession of Sardinia and other islands of the western Mediterranean, got control of Sicily in 1282 after an uprising of the inhabitants, the "Sicilian Vespers," had driven out the hated Angevins. Later on the Aragonese extended their authority to the mainland, although it was not until the sixteenth century that France gave up all claim to southern Italy. In 1504 Ferdinand of Aragon was formally recognized as king of "the Two Sicilies."

Among the five "great powers" of Italy there was no semblance of a common Italian patriotism. Each state was against every other state, though there might be a "triple alliance" or a "dual entente" from time to time. The only principles recognized in their international relations were expediency, treachery, and force. Conquered states were held in helpless dependence. The art of statecraft and the art of diplomacy were highly developed, and they were studied and practiced by Italian rulers with as much gusto as the contemporary art of architecture, each ruler striving to make his authority absolute within his own dominions. Italian concepts of statecraft, diplomacy, and international relations, keen instruments of national advancement, became well known north of the Alps.

Machiavelli

The Italian who more than any other succeeded in popularizing this science of politics was Machiavelli (1469-1527). He was a Florentine and had played a modest part in the government of his native state. Machiavelli wrote various treatises on the art of war and other topics, but the work upon which his fame rests is *The Prince*, written in 1513. The principles of politics which Machiavelli expounds in this famous book were derived from his experience and from the facts of history. The history to which he appealed, when it was not that of his own time, was that of classical antiquity; medieval experience he ignored.

Machiavelli seems to have intended his book as a practical manual for the guidance of the rulers of his day. He begins with the assertion, based upon "experience," that men are born bad and that they will not do good unless obliged to do so. The essential quality of a ruler, then, is strength. Of course, a ruler should not neglect to win the love of his people if he can, for it is good economy to do so; but he must not scruple to break a promise or to make use of cruelty. Those rulers who have not been overscrupulous have fared best, he thinks. As for the state itself, when its peace and safety are in danger "no consideration of justice or injustice can find a place, nor any of mere cruelty, or of honor or disgrace; every scruple must be set aside and that plan followed which saves her life and maintains her independence." A ruler must, therefore, have "no other design nor thought nor study than war and the art and discipline of it."

Born in Italy, the new political science was of little value to the land of its birth. Florence and Venice united against Milan. Then as the balance of power slowly shifted, a triple alliance of Milan, Naples, and Florence arose, in 1484, to "maintain peace" in the peninsula. Gravely threatened by this combination, the Venetians invited the young and eager Charles VIII of France to invade Italy (1494). This invasion proved to be a mere "military promenade," so divided and so weak were the states of Italy, and Charles proceeded southward as far as Naples. Rich, glorious in her culture, and helpless, Italy by irresistible attraction drew invader after invader from the north. With a foothold already in the south of Italy, Spain contested with France for the dominance of the peninsula, and for sixty years unhappy Italy was the battlefield of those two great powers.

The Nation-State

Wealthy, populous, cultured, and intelligently administered as they often were, the city-states failed to perpetuate themselves as the dominant political form in modern times. Their sphere of action was too small in an expanding Europe, their economic base too slight. A new type of political and social organization was slowly evolving, the nation-state. We of the present are quite familiar with this unit. The modern nation has become a community whose members are united by a common memory of their country's past and by faith in its future. Its citizens may differ about national objectives from time to time, but they generally conduct their party warfare within the limits of certain great principles in which all believe.

Many factors contributed to the first differentiation of national groups. Among these were geographical environment and the evolution, through-

out a given area, of a common language. To these was soon to be added in many cases the compelling power of a national church. Leadership in the integrating process was supplied in almost every case by a feudal family which became the national dynasty. The early modern dynasties were more concerned to extend and organize their authority than to foster the culture or develop the self-consciousness of the national group. The Tudors, the Bourbons, and the others were state builders, but the states they built were powerful aids to national integration and the dynasties of early modern history rightly bear the title of national monarchies. City-states, however intelligently and effectively administered, could not compete with the nation-states. Medieval armies became increasingly mercenary in their composition rather than feudal, and a national monarch could hire a larger body of professional fighting men and equip it with a more expensive artillery train than could any city-state.

France

Most fully developed of the nation-states was France. By the beginning of the modern period she had achieved the greatest unity and national self-consciousness of any country in Europe. This considerable achievement had been the work of several centuries. Nowhere, perhaps, had cultural dissimilarities been so marked; *langue d'oc* and *langue d'oïl* represented practically separate nationalities. Nowhere had feudal disintegration proceeded to greater lengths, or depths. In the tenth century France had seventy thousand feudal divisions, more than one hundred of which were practically sovereign states. The kings of France in those days had but little authority outside their own small duchy, the Ile de France, from which all France was to take its name. The story of the growth of the French nation-state centers around the leadership of the monarchy. "France was conquered by her kings." The fiefs of France, great and small, during the course of long centuries passed into the direct possession of the crown. It became and remained the objective of successive French kings to win control over all lands within the "natural boundaries" of France—the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Atlantic, and the Rhine.

This policy was the enduring cause of the Hundred Years' War with England. Since the days of William the Conqueror the English king had been one of the principal feudal barons of France. The relationship was not thought of as anomalous until the fourteenth century, when there was a first faint beginning of self-consciousness among the English people. This took the form of the support by all classes of Englishmen of their ruler's design to enlarge his holdings in France and shake off the feudal overlordship of the French crown. In the end it was the aroused patriotism

of the French which proved decisive. Frenchmen, stirred by the example of Joan of Arc, supported their monarch in his successful efforts to expel the English from the soil of France (1453).

The governing authority of the crown kept pace with the extension of its domain. At the close of the middle ages Louis XI (1461-1483) could say with perfect truth, "To us alone belongs and is due the general government and administration of the realm." His revenue was varied and ample. To income from the royal domain had been added a lucrative *gabelle du sel*, or salt tax, and a general land tax, or *taille*, besides seaport duties and inland tolls. The total revenue of Louis XI was more than sufficient to meet the expenses of his court, his administration, and his army. The French nobles counted for little politically, though they still enjoyed important privileges, such as exemption from the *taille*, and though they monopolized the higher posts in the army and in the civil administration.

Nowhere was the authority of the French monarchy more manifest than in ecclesiastical affairs. France was the first of Europe's nation-states to rebuff the papacy, when Philip IV flouted the authority of Pope Boniface VIII early in the fourteenth century. A century later, when all Europeans were questioning the prerogatives of the Holy See, the French clergy led by the national monarch secured a large measure of freedom from papal jurisdiction and papal taxation in the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438). The next step was for the French crown to secure what the pope had lost, and this was done in 1516 when the king of France was granted the right of nominating to all clerical posts and of deciding all ecclesiastical cases in return for financial concessions to the papacy. Clerical abuses were at least as prevalent in France as elsewhere when this bargain was made, but neither pope nor king gave them more than a passing thought, it would seem. It was a foregone conclusion that the French monarchy thereafter would be opposed to reform, having nothing to gain and much to lose.

Their battle won in France, in the political sense at least, and unresponsive as yet to the social and spiritual needs of the time, the kings of France looked abroad. Seven times between 1494 and 1557 French armies invaded Italy. It is impossible to discover today any rational basis for these invasions. Not only were they futile, they were disastrously expensive. Italy was indeed "the tomb of the French."

Spain

The political union of the Spanish peninsula, even now not complete, progressed but slowly during the medieval centuries. Overrun by the Moslems at the beginning of the eighth century, Spain was long the seat

of a brilliant Saracenic civilization. From the Moors Europe learned many things, economic, scientific, and philosophical. The political structure of the Moors was as brittle, however, as their civilization was brilliant, and by the twelfth century a swarm of practically independent and mutually hostile emirates had appeared. Meanwhile the group of tiny Christian principalities which had been able to survive began to develop strength and push to the south and west. Chief among them were León, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Barcelona, and Portugal. Consolidation kept pace with expansion. León merged with Castile in the eleventh century and Barcelona with Aragon in the twelfth. Aragon turned to the development of her industrial and commercial opportunities and became an important factor in the western Mediterranean, with maritime bases in the Balearic Islands and in southern Italy and Sicily. Castile concentrated on expansion against the Moors and became by far the largest land power in Spain. Then came the famous marriage which formed the basis of the modern Spanish state: in 1469 Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile. Not that the two sovereigns concerned had any prevision of the result, for they had not. The two kingdoms continued to be as separate administratively as they were culturally distinct, and only the death of all save one of the children of the marriage prevented the two kingdoms from continuing in their separate orbits. Indeed, much provincialism exists in Spain to this day and Catalan, the language of the Aragonese, still flourishes as the rival of Castilian. After their marriage Ferdinand and Isabella sought to complete their personal control of the peninsula. In 1492 the last Moorish principality disappeared with the fall of Granada, and in 1512 Ferdinand conquered that part of Navarre that lies to the south of the Pyrenees. Ferdinand then married his eldest daughter to the king of Portugal. Her death, followed by that of her son, sent Portugal again upon its separate course, and to this day Portugal stands aloof. This little kingdom, occupying about one seventh of the peninsular area, owes its independence in part to its geographical position. A fragment of the great central plateau is here sunken and thus cut off from the rest.

Following the trend of the times, both Ferdinand (1479-1516) and Isabella (1474-1504) sought by every means, in their respective kingdoms, to consolidate the power of the crown. The nobles were deprived of their political power in return for an enlargement of their social and economic privileges. The wealthy and powerful military orders, by-products of the long crusade against the Moors, were subjected to the crown when the pope was prevailed upon to make Ferdinand the hereditary grand master of them all. Bishops and abbots were reduced to submission by Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo and private confessor to the

queen. Finally, the pope transferred to the two monarchs the right of presentation to bishoprics and the headship of the Spanish Inquisition. King Ferdinand used the sleepless vigilance and ubiquitous terrors of the Inquisition to stamp out political disaffection as well as heresy. When word came that his subjects in the Pyrenees were selling their livestock, and especially their horses, to his enemy the French, Ferdinand effectively checked the process by branding such sale a heresy.

Lately and still imperfectly united, Spain came forward very rapidly as a great power. Before the death of King Ferdinand the wealth of the New World was flowing into her coffers, and her armies and her ministers were winning triumphs in the field of international affairs. Under Charles V (1516-1556) and Philip II (1556-1598) Spain became the foremost state in Europe.

England

Everyone recognizes the importance of England and the British Empire in the world of today. Five centuries ago the situation was very different. There was no British Empire, and England itself was one of the minor powers of Europe. Its population was about one sixth that of France. For its contact with the outside world it was dependent upon the ships of the city-states of Italy or of the Netherlands. England was important not for what it was but for what it was to become.

England's greatest contribution to Western civilization has been its constitution and its law. A representative assembly had been a characteristic development in each of the medieval monarchies. These bodies, the German Diet, the French Estates-General, the Spanish Cortes, and the English Parliament, gave representation to three classes of medieval society—clergy, nobility, and a “third estate” corresponding roughly to our term middle class. These medieval legislatures had exercised a limiting control over the medieval monarchies. In Germany the princes became so strong and the monarch so weak that the Diet failed to function for lack of leadership. In France and Spain the monarchy became so powerful that the medieval legislature became an empty form, the Estates-General and Cortes being rarely summoned. Only in England did monarchy and assembly both survive to become vital and powerful factors in the modern state. England's law, the famous common law, was also unique in that it embodied to an unusual degree the usages of the people.

In the fifteenth century, monarchy, Parliament, and the law had all been threatened with disaster if not destruction. Long war with France (the Hundred Years' War) had demoralized English society, and two factions of nobles with bands of hired ruffians as retainers fought for con-

trol of the government. Parliaments were "packed," judges were bought or bullied, juries were overawed. The crown became the prize first of the Lancastrians (Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI, 1399-1461) and then of the Yorkists (Edward IV and Richard III, 1461-1485). The "sickness" finally wore itself out. The nobles, decimated and impoverished, became less and less able to continue the conflict. The middle class of merchants and yeoman farmers had long been impatient of a feud so senseless and destructive. Indeed, the merchants made the most of an opportunity to end the strife by refusing further credit to the side that looked like the loser. Richard III, last of the Yorkists, having endeavored to maintain himself by a reign of terror, met the fate of most tyrants, and leaders of both factions combined to defeat and kill him (battle of Bosworth Field, 1485). A last surviving Lancastrian, who had taken little part in the contest and had dwelt in exile, was called to the throne. By his speedy marriage to Elizabeth, the heiress of the house of York, he did much to lay the foundation for an enduring peace. Henry of Richmond, taking the name of Henry VII (1485-1509), thus became the founder of a new family, the house of Tudor, the most brilliant of England's many royal lines.

Henry VII was something more than the founder of a new family. He was the inaugurator of a new political policy, better adapted to meet the needs and dangers of the time. This was a strong-monarchy policy, sometimes called, rather exaggeratedly, "Tudor absolutism." What England needed, in Henry's opinion, was leadership and that he meant to supply. The nobles were controlled both directly and indirectly. Henry caused to be passed through Parliament a statute which branded as illegal the maintenance of private armies. Since the courts were still controlled by the magnates, Henry set up for the enforcement of his new statute a special court. The judges of this court were all members of his privy council. The sessions of the court were held in secret and information was sometimes extracted by torture. In action this Court of Star Chamber was swift and ruthless, and King Henry found it an effective weapon in his fight for power.

By close attention to details and by prudent economies Henry managed to finance the work of government without having to depend greatly upon parliamentary grant. An especially artful dodge was the following: first, the king would excite Parliament with the prospect of a foreign war and then secure a large grant payable at once; next, he would agitate the enemy (France) with the prospect of an invasion, at the same time letting it be known that any reasonable offer would be accepted; finally, he allowed himself to be bought off by the foreign foe for a round sum. This profitable coup the king was able to carry through on two different oc-

casions. Henry handed over to his successor a government with all bills met and a surplus on hand of over one million pounds.

This successor was Henry VIII. In addition to a treasure and a policy, Henry inherited a title which no one could question, since he represented both of England's dynastic factions. The new king was only eighteen years old when he ascended the throne, but he was eager to play an important part in national and international affairs. Handsome, athletic, well educated, and accomplished, he was the English counterpart of the dashing young Italian of the day. The Venetian ambassador wrote home the following description of the English king: "He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom. . . . He is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; is a most capital horseman; a fine jouter; speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious; hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. . . . He is very fond of hunting, and never takes this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. . . . He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture." The long duel between France and Spain which had just begun presented an attractive and profitable opportunity for the young king of England. So completely and so cleverly did he exploit the opportunity that he established England in a position of lasting leadership. This statesmanlike achievement, as we shall see, was really the work of Henry's great minister Thomas Cardinal Wolsey.

Scotland

England's neighbor on the north, though small and poor in resources, had successfully maintained its independence under the leadership of the house of Stuart. Taking advantage of England's wars with France, Scotland had become the traditional ally of the latter. The border warfare of English and Scotch, renewed almost annually, fed the flames of a bitter hostility between the two peoples. Even so, the northern kingdom was half Saxon as well as half Celtic, and the cultural influence of England continued to be so strong that the two lands were drawn together willy-nilly. In 1513 in yet another battle, Flodden Field, the English won a victory so decisive that Scotland lost all power to do further harm to her neighbor.

The Scandinavian States

The peoples of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have always had much in common, both culturally and in their political history. The raids of the Northmen in the earlier medieval centuries constitute a romance

of history. Their commercial and colonizing activities carried them to Constantinople, overland through Russia and by sea through the Mediterranean. They made their way, by Iceland and Greenland, to the coasts of North America. After their conversion to Christianity these peoples confined their activities to the region of the Baltic. In 1397, by the Union of Calmar, the three countries were united under the Danish dynasty. This family was of German origin; as duke of Schleswig-Holstein the Danish king was a member of the German Diet. Early in the sixteenth century a nationalist movement took Sweden out of the union under a dynasty of her own, the famous Vasa family. (See Chapter VIII.)

The Slav States

The old home of the Slav peoples was the region of forests and swamps in the basin of the Pripiet River, one of the western tributaries of the Dnieper. The westward migration of the Germans in the later centuries of the Roman Empire left vacant a vast tract of land to the east of the Elbe, with the Danube and the Baltic as its southern and northern limits. Into these vacant lands moved the Slavs, a gradual process that occupied the time from the German withdrawal, about A.D. 200, to the year 1000. In the ninth century some of these tribes, the so-called Western Slavs, were cut off from their fellow Slavs to the east and southeast by an invasion of Magyars, the Asiatic ancestors of the modern Hungarians. For some centuries thereafter the Western Slavs were subjected to a process of colonization and conquest by their German neighbors, a process which seemed destined to end only with the total assimilation of the Slavs. In time, however, resistance stiffened, and two Slav states were formed as the constant hammering of German attack welded together the separate tribes.

The first of these states was Bohemia, which occupied a large and fertile plateau in the upper valley of the Elbe. This land was open to German attack on two sides, though mountain ranges afforded a measure of protection. As early as the tenth century Bohemia was constrained to accept the overlordship of Germany, and in time the kingdom of Bohemia became a state of the Empire, with her king one of the greater princes and electors. Although preserving her political identity in this way, Bohemia suffered a slow infiltration, through the centuries, of German priests and monks, of German nobles, merchants, and peasants. The native Czech nobility eventually adopted German ways and married German wives. Successive kings of Bohemia helped the Germanizing process along by employing German peasants to clear the forests and redeem the waste lands in the Sudetes Mountains which border the kingdom on the north.

It was the descendants of these pioneering Germans who were "rescued" by Hitler in recent times. By the fourteenth century the national language of Bohemia was no longer spoken by anyone who pretended to be anyone, and the crown itself had passed to foreign princes. Czech national consciousness was saved from extinction by a fifteenth-century renaissance. Huss, the prophet (d. 1414), and Ziska, the soldier (d. 1424), were the leaders of the movement. The Czech tongue again became fashionable, a university was founded at Prague to foster Czech national culture, and for a time a native dynasty occupied the throne. The full tide of the anti-German reaction receded somewhat toward the end of the century and a Hapsburg secured the crown of Bohemia, but the Czech renaissance of the fifteenth century gave the national consciousness a strong hold on life.

More numerous than the Czechs and less closely beset by the expanding Germans were the Poles, who occupied a rich plain in the lower valley of the Vistula. Here a strong military state had been organized by the year 1000. The ruling prince adopted the title of king; and he became a convert to Christianity, partly with a view to depriving the German invaders of the missionary motive. By the eleventh century all the Poles had been converted to the Roman Catholic faith. With Western Christianity came Western institutions and Polish society became feudal. As German merchants settled in the Polish towns, the middle class in Poland was Germanized; the nobility, the peasantry, and the priesthood, however, remained solidly Polish. Meanwhile a great colonizing enterprise of the Germans had followed the shores of the Baltic eastward and cut off Poland's access to the sea. By the close of the fourteenth century the order of the Knights of the Cross (Teutonic Knights), missionaries with a mailed fist, occupied lands bordering the Baltic on both sides of the Vistula, that is, West Prussia and East Prussia. For a time Polish rulers accepted this and turned their expansive energies to the southeast. In 1386, however, the seventeen-year-old queen of Poland was persuaded to marry the pagan duke of Lithuania, an event of first importance in the history of central and eastern Europe. Ladislas Jagello and his people accepted Christianity, and the new king of united Poland and Lithuania was the founder of a great Polish dynasty. The eastward progress of the Germans along the Baltic was checked. In 1410, at Tannenberg, the forces of Poland-Lithuania completely defeated the knights in a battle near the spot where Hindenburg annihilated the Russians in 1914. Half a century later, by the Treaty of Thorn (1466), West Prussia was ceded to Poland outright, and East Prussia, which was to be held by the Teutonic Knights as a fief of Poland, likewise passed out of the German orbit. In 1500 Poland stretched across eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea, her territory being three times the size of France.

Hungary

Mention has been made of the Magyars, who drove a wedge into the center of the Slav world, dividing the Western Slavs from their other kinsmen. The Magyars were Asiatics, and of the Mongoloid race originally. They settled in the wide valley of the upper Danube, forming a solid military state called Hungary. They were converted to the Roman Catholic faith about the year 1000, when a native dynasty was founded by St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary. Like the Germans, the Magyars pursued a policy of expansion against their Slav neighbors. Magyar rivalry in this field might have meant much for Germany had not Hungary been called upon to fight for its life against the Turks. A brilliant chapter of Hungarian history was written by John Hunyadi, hero of the siege of Belgrade in 1456, and his son Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary from 1458 to 1490. Even a little cooperation from western Europe during this half-century might have saved much of eastern Europe from a Turkish domination of centuries. But it was not an age of international cooperation in any realm. In 1526 the Hungarians were crushed by the Turks at Mohacs. The greater part of Hungary fell to the Turks, and the remaining fragment to the house of Hapsburg.

Eastern Europe

Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary are usually classed as Western states because they became Roman Catholic in religion and because Rome was the source, however dim and distant, of their culture. Their political development, however, as compared to that of France, Spain, and England, was retarded. Poland found it difficult, and Bohemia impossible, to escape the crippling constriction of German expansionism. Hungary was too new as an organized society and too alien to Europe culturally to model herself upon the nation-states of the West.

As we move farther east in our survey of the continent at the beginning of the modern period, the ways of the West are less and less in evidence. Eastern Europe was mainly Christian, but its preferred form of Christianity was the Greek Orthodox. Its political model was not the Western nation-state but the despotism of the Orient. The whole of the life of Russia was profoundly affected by Asiatic influences during the later middle ages, and the Balkan peninsula was overwhelmed by conquerors direct from Asia itself. It is only in quite recent times that the social and political forms and the culture of the West have acquired in eastern Europe such prevalence as they now have. Throughout modern history, however, the two areas of Europe, east and west, have had relationships of the greatest importance.

Russia

While some Slavs moved westward from their old home in the Pripet marshes, others turned to the east and northeast. When the Eastern Slavs reached the valley of the Dnieper, they came in contact with the remains of an ancient Hellenistic civilization that had developed in the towns along the old trade route between the Black Sea and the Baltic, a route as old as Herodotus. Various Slav principalities were formed, centering about these towns. In the more important principalities the leadership was supplied by Norse adventurers, who began to make their way across the great "isthmus" between the Baltic and the Black Sea in the middle of the ninth century. Rurik founded a state at Old Novgorod, about one hundred miles south of the present Leningrad, and his successor moved to Kiev on the middle Dnieper, then the southern outpost of the Eastern Slavs.

At Kiev the house of Rurik built up the first great Russian state, and the principality of Kiev, or Russ, as it was then called, gradually extended its authority over all the Eastern Slavs. By the twelfth century, expansion had brought the rulers of Kiev into touch with the Baltic on the north and the Black Sea on the south. Meanwhile, between 980 and 1000, the Russians and their rulers had accepted Greek Christianity, though not without giving a friendly hearing to Roman Catholic missionaries from Germany and to apostles of Islam from the Bulgars. The conversion of the Russians, the "great deed" of the Greek church, was a momentous event. It made Russia Byzantine in civilization and thus helped to set her apart from western Europe.

The grand principedom of Kiev reached its height under Yaroslav (d. 1054), whose marriage alliances with Poland, Norway, Hungary, and France justified his claim to be one of the leading princes of Europe. After his death disintegration set in. Someone has enumerated eighty-three civil wars in the century and a half that followed the death of Yaroslav, besides forty-six invasions of nomads from the south and east. A movement of population set in to the north and northeast, and a swarm of new principalities was founded in the upper valley of the Volga and its tributaries.

In the thirteenth century both Kiev and the newer Slav principalities were overwhelmed by a catastrophe of the first order, the Mongol invasion. A Mongolian chieftain of genius, known to history as Genghiz Khan, had established, before his death in 1226, the greatest Asiatic empire in history. The sons and grandsons of Genghiz Khan proceeded to extend his empire in every direction. The whole of Russia was overwhelmed between 1237 and 1243, and Tartar horsemen pushed westward

through Poland to Saxony and through Hungary to Vienna and Venice. The capture and sack of Kiev came in 1240; it was six centuries before that city recovered its former prosperity. Western Europe was saved by the diversion of Mongol interest to China and Persia; indeed, China became the center of the Mongolian state and Kublai Khan, grandson of Genghiz, established his capital at Peking. The Mongols withdrew from Poland and Hungary but maintained and consolidated their hold on Russia.

For two centuries Russia was a part of the Mongol empire. Like other nomad conquerors, the Tartars did not interfere with the laws, customs, language, or religion of their subject peoples. Indeed, the Russian princes were allowed to remain at the head of their principalities, provided only that they make proper submission to the Great Khan and answer promptly all charges brought against them. The payment of a heavy poll tax and the supplying of contingents of troops were the principal demands made upon the Russians by their Mongol lords. Nevertheless, the Mongol occupation left an indelible imprint upon Russia and the Russians; and this, like the conversion to Greek Christianity, helps to explain the non-European character of Russian society and government. The Russian state which arose after the Mongol withdrawal remained Tartar in its autocracy and in its insistence that all Russians were the "slaves" of the state; it remained Tartar in its military organization and methods, and Tartar in much of its law, with its use of mutilation, torture, and flogging, to mention only a few of the evidences of Mongol influence.

The leadership of the Russians in throwing off Mongol rule was assumed by the principality of Moscow. There a family of great ability had established itself in the twelfth century. The geographical situation of the city was favorable both for security and for trade, and the principality grew steadily in population all through the long period of Mongol rule. The grand dukes of Moscow, deeming it expedient to cooperate loyally with their conquerors, became the official and trusted taxgatherers in Russia for the Great Khan. The prestige of Moscow was greatly enhanced when the primate of the Russian church moved his capital to that city, and the grand dukes of Moscow gradually assumed the religious leadership of all the Russians.

Meanwhile the Mongol empire slowly disintegrated and the Mongol hold on Russia weakened. The attitude of the grand dukes of Moscow gradually changed from deference to defiance. Under Ivan the Great (1462-1505) Russia was freed from the Mongols altogether. Not only so; Ivan succeeded in uniting all the Russians under his authority and thus became the founder of the modern Russian state. His marriage to a niece of the last of the Eastern emperors gave to Ivan and his successors a pre-

text for the claim that they were the protectors of all the Greek Catholics of eastern Europe.

The Southern Slavs

Slavic tribes known as the Southern Slavs began to cross the Danube into the Balkan peninsula in the sixth century of the Christian era, and eventually penetrated as far south as the Peloponnesus. Two leading Slav kingdoms were formed in the Balkans — Serbia and Bulgaria. The later middle ages in the Balkan peninsula are occupied by the story of the struggle between these two Slav states for dominance, a contest in which the Eastern Empire was obliged to take a hand from time to time. The contest was brought to an abrupt close when the tide of Turkish advance swept over the whole peninsula.

The Decline of the Eastern Empire

After its fall in the West the Roman Empire lived on in the East for many centuries. Through these centuries it performed a great service for eastern Europe as the civilizer of the Slavs. Its cultural gifts to western Europe are scarcely less important. To Westerners the Byzantine Empire was the Old World, and Constantinople the Paris of the middle ages. Not the least of the services of the Eastern Empire to the West was to interpose a bulwark between Europe and Asiatic invaders. In the eighth century, when Mohammedans were overrunning vast provinces in three continents with a swiftness unparalleled in history, the Empire effectually closed the door of Europe to their advance. Constantinople twice withstood a siege. That of 717 lasted an entire year, and the repulse of the Arabs at that time may be regarded as a turning point in history. Byzantium saved Europe but at great cost to herself. Egypt and Syria were lost in the seventh century, much of Asia Minor in the eleventh century.

The West itself then dealt the Eastern Empire a staggering blow. The Fourth Crusade, led astray by commercial greed and feudal ambition, turned against the Eastern Empire and, in 1204, captured Constantinople. In the division of the spoils that followed, Venice secured such islands, trading posts, and commercial quarters as ensured her commercial supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean. The collapse of the Eastern Empire was followed by the founding of the Venetian empire. The western barons who had established themselves in the East at this time were gradually expelled, it is true, and a Greek dynasty was installed again at Constantinople. But the restored Empire was a purely local and provincial affair. Feudal disintegration now made rapid progress, and the internal history of the Empire until its fall two centuries later is an

unedifying tale of meaningless squabbles among the magnates. What was really of interest in the Christian East in the later middle ages was whether Serbia or Bulgaria might not unify the Balkan peninsula and bring the decrepit Empire to an end.

Rise of the Ottoman Turks

The Turks began coming westward and southward out of the depths of Asia in the ninth and tenth centuries. For hundreds of years they had dwelt in a zone of steppes and they had, therefore, all the nomad's fierce distaste for settled ways of life. Emerging from the steppes, the Turks laid waste the trading centers and agricultural areas. Plundering raids were succeeded, in agrarian regions, by the establishing of garrisons of Turkish cavalry under military governors, by whom tribute was regularly exacted from the native population. As they came in contact with the Mohammedan world, the Turks were converted and became fanatically devoted to the Faith. In the eleventh century their conquest of Syria and Egypt from the Arabs and of Asia Minor from the Eastern Empire goaded the latter into an attempt to check their advance and regain the lost provinces with the aid of Christian Europe. The Crusades followed, and though they were a failure the Turkish advance lost momentum as decentralization set in.

The earliest conquests of the Turks had been made in Asia Minor, and it was there that they made their permanent home. A fundamental population change gradually took place, as the whole interior of Asia Minor was repopled by nomadic tribes of Turks filtering through from their native Turkestan. Literally scores of independent Turkish principalities, or emirates, were established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the year 1289 a warlike and vigorous young Turkish chieftain named Osman succeeded his father as emir of one of the northwestern provinces of Asia Minor on the border of the Greek Empire. Osman saw in the visible decay of that Empire an opportunity for military expansion. He made war upon the petty Greek principalities to the west and north and added them to his dominions. The year of his death, 1326, saw the high point of his success when the important Greek city of Brusa passed into his hands. The great chieftain's followers began to call themselves Osmanli, or "Sons of Osman," a word which we have corrupted into Ottoman. Osman's son and successor, Orkhan (1326-1359), pursued the policy of expansion into Greek territory even more brilliantly. Nicaea, second city in the Empire, fell into his hands, followed by Nicomedia, as the Turkish forces reached the Bosphorus.

In 1354, fateful year in the history of Europe, the Turks crossed the

Straits of Bosphorus and established themselves south of Constantinople in the peninsula of Gallipoli. Under Murad I (1359-1389), son of Orkhan, the westward march of the Turks continued. Leaving Constantinople on one side, Murad captured Adrianople, key to the interior of the Balkans. In 1366 Murad took the bold step of setting up the Turkish capital in Adrianople. This significant move was followed by a direct challenge to Serbia, the one Christian power in the Balkans then capable of making a stand against the Turks. In 1389, at the battle of Kossova, the Serbian power was crushed, and Serbia passed into Turkish hands. Most of Thrace, Macedonia, and Rumania had meanwhile succumbed, and the inhabitants of Constantinople saw themselves hemmed in on every hand, "like wild beasts in a cage," as a contemporary put it.

Turkish conquest of Constantinople, and indeed of eastern Europe, was postponed by a diversion from an unexpected quarter. Out of the East rode a Tartar conqueror called 'Timur the Lame, or Tamurlane. Rising to power swiftly, as was so often the case among nomadic chieftains, Tamurlane exercised authority, by 1400, from India to Hungary, and through Arabia and Syria as far as Egypt. Asia Minor was held in a vise, and the old home of the Ottoman Turks was menaced. In 1402, at Angora in central Asia Minor, the Turkish leader Bayezid, successor to Murad I, was defeated and captured. It was his tragic fate to be carried in a cage in the baggage train of the Tartar conqueror until he died.

The empire of Tamurlane fell as quickly as it rose, however. After his death in 1405 Ottoman rule was re-established, and at the end of an interim of fraternal conflict among the sons of Bayezid, the Turkish state was unified once more. Under Mohammed I (1413-1421), youngest and ablest of the sons of Bayezid, Turkish advance in Europe was renewed. Full of menace as this was for Christendom, no adequate attempt was made to stop it. Western Europe was in schism, and once the schism was healed, the Hussite wars broke out. Moreover, the Hundred Years' War between France and England was on once more.

The Fall of Constantinople

Though the Ottomans held important provinces in Asia Minor, their holdings in Europe were, by the middle of the fifteenth century, much more important. The same logic that had made Adrianople the capital in 1366 had long pointed to Constantinople as the ultimate seat of Turkish authority. For some years it was only their lack of a navy that had stayed the Turks' assault on a city long deemed impregnable save by sea. In the spring of 1453, with an army of 150,000, including the best engineers and the finest artillery to be found in Europe, and with a fleet of four hundred

vessels, Sultan Mohammed II invested the city. It was doomed from the start. Completely cut off from the outside world, with a garrison of but eight thousand, Constantinople put up a defense which was none the less spirited and heroic and which was worthy of the best days of the Roman Empire. Like a real Roman, Constantine XI, last of the emperors, fell fighting in the final assault. Leaving his soldiers to enjoy freely the fruits of their victory, the sultan hastened to St. Sophia to return thanks for his triumph. His thanks, of course, were offered to Allah, and the church of St. Sophia, the glory of Christendom, became a Mohammedan mosque.

The Nature of Turkish Rule

The better to understand the importance of the establishment of the Turks in Europe, we should consider the character of the Ottoman state. The Turks were nomads and they long retained certain nomadic characteristics. Indeed, their rule of conquered peoples, and especially those of an alien religion, is best understood if we use the analogy of the nomads' flocks and herds. These, it will be noted, were carefully tended. The animals were encouraged to pasture at will, paying their tribute of milk and wool. Trained horses and dogs assisted the Turkish masters in keeping the flocks and herds in order. The conquered Christians were merely another species of cattle. After submission they were at once disarmed. Their fortifications were dismantled, the walls of their cities torn down. The laws, the religion, the economic life of the Christians were not interfered with; indeed, the lot of the Greeks was rather better under the Turkish conquerors than under the Byzantine Empire. Annual tribute, however, must be paid, and this usually took the form of a head tax on all non-Moslems.

A grave criticism of such a scheme of government is that it admits of no assimilation of conquered and conquerors into a single people. The Christian subjects remained *rayahs*, sheep to be shorn. They might live happily enough for years, hardly seeing a Turkish official in their towns and villages save at the annual tribute gathering. But suddenly, if a restive movement was detected or suspected, Turkish soldiers would descend upon the unarmed Christians, slaying men, women, and children in indiscriminate fury. After this another long interval of easy-going tolerance might ensue.

The Ottoman state, however, was not merely nomadic; its solid and lasting success makes that clear. It will be remembered that the Ottoman conquests had been made first at the expense of the Byzantine Empire; other Christian states of the Balkans were annexed later, but in these states too, Byzantine culture predominated. Successive Ottoman

rulers had the genius to fashion their institutions, military, administrative, and legal, on Byzantine models. In a very real sense the Turkish Empire became the successor of Byzantium, and the later sultans, like Mohammed II, consciously adopted the imperial and maritime traditions of the expiring Eastern Empire. Byzantine models were followed in the organization of the Turkish army, the finest in Europe, and in the Turkish administrative system, the most efficient in the world. An annual tribute of young boys was gathered from Christian towns and villages. These boys, completely cut off from home and kindred, were carefully trained at government expense in schools maintained for the purpose. Drafted into the army or the civil service after the completion of their training, these young officers and officials served the state, their foster parent, with impersonal efficiency. Even so had the nomadic ancestors of the conquering Turks kept their flocks and herds in order with well-trained horses and sheep dogs. As in all Oriental despotisms, however, the health and energy of the Turkish state was much too dependent upon the caliber of the ruler of the moment.

Turkish Conquests

As the successors of eastern emperors the Turkish leaders strove mightily to regain the Empire's lost provinces. To advance further, nay even to defend what he had won, Mohammed II (1451-1481) felt that he must command the Aegean Sea. There began an "irrepressible conflict" between the Ottoman state and Venice, mistress of the Mediterranean. Venice found the Turks irresistible as well as irrepressible, and in 1479, having lost all her holdings in the Aegean together with Scutari on the Adriatic coast, she sued for peace. In return for a heavy fine, really tribute money, the Venetians were to have the privilege of trading in Turkish waters. With startling rapidity Mohammed then launched his fleet into the western Mediterranean, and in 1481 surprised and took the city of Otranto in Apulia, massacring the entire population. Returning from this bold venture, Mohammed assembled a great fleet in his Adriatic ports and told his Janissaries that he would next review them under the walls of Rome. Suddenly he died of apoplexy, aged fifty-two.

There ensued for western Europe a breathing space of forty years which she had done nothing to earn. Bayezid II (1481-1512) was a weakling, preferring the pleasures of the palace to the hardships of the camp. Deposed at last, and perhaps poisoned by one of his sons, Bayezid was succeeded by a man of great energy and ability to whom eastward expansion seemed more important than western. Selim I (1512-1520) managed to double the size of his empire in a campaign of four years, the principal

new provinces being Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, lands still in Turkish hands at the opening of the twentieth century. In conquering Egypt Selim also annexed the title of caliph, or head of the Moslem world in succession to Mohammed. The Turks turned to the west again under Suleiman I, the Magnificent (1520-1566), ablest of all Turkish rulers, a man of culture and honor. Under him the Turkish Empire reached the greatest height it has ever attained and made its strongest attack on Christendom. Suleiman set his face westward in 1526 at the head of a combined force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. It was now that Hungary was annihilated at Mohacs. A hundred thousand Christian captives were driven eastward to the slave markets of Constantinople. Continuing to the west, the sultan laid siege to Vienna in 1529. Fortunately for Christendom, the Hapsburg state was then at the height of its power, and embarrassed though he was by his contest with France on the one hand and a revolt of Lutheran princes on the other, Charles V had the strength to stand firm against the tide of Turkish advance. After a long siege the Turks retired. Never again were they to press so far to the west, though on a desperate raid, one hundred and fifty years later, Vienna was again attacked (1683).

Solidly in possession of the whole of the Balkan peninsula and most of Hungary, the Turkish Empire had reached its greatest extent in Europe. Before his death, however, Suleiman had extended Turkish authority westward in another quarter—from Egypt along the northern coast of Africa to the Atlantic. The great sultan was now “the master of many kingdoms, the ruler of three continents, and the lord of two seas.” The boundaries of his empire were approximately those of the Roman Empire under Justinian.

From a military point of view, the success of the Turks was due to a skillful combination of infantry with cavalry and artillery. For many centuries Turkish commanders had depended solely on their horsemen armed with the lance and carrying a short bow, but they quickly assimilated and even improved upon the more advanced military art of the Western peoples with whom they came into conflict. Cavalry remained an important force in their armies. When Christian lands were conquered they were subdivided into fiefs, each just large enough to support a horseman. This fief, called a “timar,” was held by the lancer on condition of his serving the sultan whenever and wherever he raised his banner, not merely for forty days as in feudal Europe. Unlike the Western fief, also, the timar was held for one life only. If a lancer had sons who followed their father’s profession of arms, they were given fiefs elsewhere, to prevent the formation of local attachments and loyalties. Turkish infantry consisted in the main of the famous corps of Janissaries armed with the

longbow, powerful and of deadly accuracy. The corps was recruited chiefly from the annual tribute of Christian boys levied from the villages and towns of conquered lands. In the sixteenth century the Janissaries numbered 100,000; they were the best fighting force in Europe. The Turks made use of artillery in their siegecraft, as did Europeans generally at this time. Turkish engineers led the way, however, in the development of lighter cannon for use in the field. In his remarkable victories on the eastern front, Selim I simply blew the enemy cavalry to pieces, squadron by squadron, as fast as they were launched against him, holding his own cavalry in reserve for mopping up.

Turkish conquests came to a standstill in time because of the decay of the military system. The timar system, despite every precaution, became hereditary and the lancers no longer cared to fight so often or so far away from home. The Janissaries were allowed to marry, and thus to found families to whose welfare they turned their principal attention. First financial matters, and then political, came to occupy the minds of the warriors. The corps became a kind of Praetorian Guard with a policy of its own, especially as regards the succession to the sultanate. Corruption soon honeycombed the civil administration and even the harem took a hand in government. The successor of Suleiman the Magnificent was Selim the Sot (1566-1574). Later Sultans when not vicious were often weak.

International Relations, 1494-1559

The year 1494 is sometimes said to mark the beginning of modern times. That was the year of the first invasion of Italy by the French, led by Charles VIII. This invasion proved to be the prelude to a struggle for the control of the peninsula, in which France and Spain were the principal contestants but which finally involved nine tenths of the continent of Europe. Wars involving the whole or nearly the whole of Europe have been especially characteristic of modern times. As has been remarked, little or no rational basis can be found for these Italian wars. Italy was merely the battleground where two rival dynasties, the Valois and the Hapsburg, struggled to maintain or increase their prestige. All the resources, economic, military, and diplomatic, of each family were drawn upon and used, at times with a skill and craft truly Machiavellian.

The decisive phase of the contest fell in the time of Francis I of France (1515-1547) and Charles V of Spain and the Empire (1516-1556). The dominions ruled by Charles were much larger and more varied than those of his rival. As king of Spain he was the head of a land forging rapidly to the front to become one of the dominant powers of Europe. The long and successful fight with the Moors had stimulated a warlike spirit in the

Spanish peoples and had led to advanced developments in military art. Furthermore, the Spanish government was already tapping the sources of quick and easy wealth in the New World. As king of Aragon Charles was established in Naples and Sicily; as emperor he had a strong claim to the duchy of Milan. Besides all this, Charles could draw upon the homelands of the Hapsburgs in central Europe. Finally, as lord of the Netherlands he could command the resources of that rich industrial and commercial area. Charles had been born in Flanders and counted himself a native son and was so accounted by the Flemings. On the other hand, there was no semblance of union among these varied territories. France, virtually encircled with Hapsburg lands on every front, had the military advantages of more compact organization and shorter lines of communication. Charles himself was serious and hard-working, and though he was slow, he was persevering. Francis was frivolous and, though ambitious, was lacking in resolution. Both men were exceedingly interested in the contemporary developments in art and literature, and both were intelligent and munificent patrons. Neither monarch understood or was much concerned about the rapidly expanding revolt against the Roman church.

Another youthful monarch, ambitious but with slender resources, found in the evenly balanced contest an opportunity to play an important part in the game of war and diplomacy. Henry VIII of England was pleasure-loving as well as ambitious, however, and had already learned to depend upon his father's minister Thomas Wolsey. This remarkable man was of middle-class origin, gifted with a good voice, a ready tongue, and great ability. He had risen rapidly to be number-one man in the king's government; indeed, he was Henry's whole cabinet. Wolsey had also attained to the rank of cardinal in the church and was entrusted by the pope with the government of the church in England. At first Wolsey's policy was pro-Spanish. Henry's queen was the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V. In 1525, at the battle of Pavia, Francis was defeated and captured by the Spanish forces. Carried off to Spain, the French king, to secure his release, gave his assent to a treaty in which he signed away all his claims to Italian territory, besides such French possessions as Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy. To redress the balance, Wolsey threw the weight of England's diplomatic influence upon the side of France. The new pro-French policy became more pronounced when, in 1529, Henry VIII decided to divorce his queen. As head of the house of Hapsburg and nephew of Catherine, Charles firmly opposed this move. His position in Italy made it possible for him to block Henry's project, for Charles through his capture of Rome in 1527 was able to control papal policy.

The criminal stupidity of this first of modern wars is well illustrated

by the sack of Rome, an event which had no influence whatever upon the course of the conflict. Two years after their victory at Pavia the emperor's Italian army, chiefly Spaniards and Germans, without pay and short of food, suddenly mutinied and marched on Rome. They took the city with ease and for eight days gave themselves over to slaughter and pillage. Among the German soldiers were many Lutherans who took occasion to profane as well as to destroy, violating nuns and holding cardinals for ransom. For nine months the leaderless troops terrorized the city and its neighborhood.

To carry the story of the wars further would be a waste of time. England withdrew from the whole affair when Henry, unable to secure his divorce through the Roman Curia, broke with the pope. Francis I died and Charles V retired to a monastery to prepare himself for death, as the senseless struggle continued. Finally it was ended by new monarchs who had come at last to realize that the great question of the hour was not dynastic prestige but the widespread revolt against the church.

The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) established Spanish dominance in the Italian peninsula. The king of Spain ruled directly at Naples and in Milan and, through relatives, in Tuscany and Parma. Spanish control of Italian politics lasted for a century and a half (1559-1713). But there were other more important results of the long struggle for pre-eminence. The Protestants during nearly half a century of freedom from interference had established themselves so firmly that it proved impossible to reduce them to obedience. Moreover, the Turkish Empire, which might easily have been driven back upon Constantinople by a united Christendom, overspread the Balkans and Hungary and threatened Vienna. The fact that more than once during the period Christian France cooperated with the Turks is convincing proof that we are in touch at last with modern times.

CHAPTER II

Economic Revolution and Expansion

SERFDOM WAS never quite universal in western Europe. The manor of the textbooks, with its three-field system, intermingled strips, and throngs of serfs bound to the soil through labor service, was suitable only for the wide-stretching lowland plain of Europe, where grain may be grown year after year. In the hilly uplands, such as those of the north and west of England and the *midi* of France, a pastoral economy prevailed; serfs were few and they paid rent in kind, not in labor. In some regions still more remote the peasantry maintained themselves practically free from any superior. When a lord did venture into such an upland valley to collect his rents, he was accustomed to exact hostages for his own safety. Free communities such as these were exceptional, however; rural freedom became practically extinct as feudalism settled down in western Europe.

Emancipation of the Serfs

The emancipation of the serfs was not the result of successful revolt, still less of an "emancipation proclamation." There were revolts in plenty, it is true, but they came late in the process and made no special contribution to it. Emancipation was the result of a slow economic evolution to which many factors contributed. Broadly speaking, the movement began in the thirteenth century and continued through the fifteenth.

The manorial system was economically wasteful. Its consumption of human labor was enormous. This was due partly to the system of open-field farming. The intermingling of the strips made it practically impossible to introduce any improvements in agricultural methods. Furthermore, the serf was a reluctant laborer. He came to his lord's domain tired from labor on his own land. It is estimated that hired labor was at least three times as productive as was servile labor. Progressive landlords, therefore, began to commute the labor service of their serfs into a money payment. With funds thus derived these lords could hire the labor necessary to cultivate the demesne, or "home farm"; better still, the demesne could be leased for a money rent. Landlords who held many manors—and this was usual—would no longer have to "eat their way" through them one

by one; they could enjoy the vastly superior convenience and comfort of a settled home which a money economy would make possible.

Probably not many lords were so progressive; most of them were slow to see the point. They soon found themselves under pressure, however. First, there was the agricultural pioneering of colonizing that went on for so many centuries—that of the Germans east of the Elbe, of the Flemings in the Lowlands, of the English in their fenlands, of people all over western Europe, in fact, wherever there were forests to clear, swamps to drain, or lands vacated by war or pestilence to be resettled. This colonizing movement was at its height in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some measure of the vastness of the colonizing movement may be seen in the estimate that the population of western Europe, some thirty million in the fifth century, was sixty million at the end of the thirteenth. To attract settlers to their lands, colonizing lords had at their disposal two of the greatest inducements ever held out to enslaved humanity: cheap land and freedom. There was only one way in which old-fashioned landlords could hope to keep their peasants from running away to the frontier; namely, to offer them a free status and lessened services at home. Thus did the frontier liberalize Europe.

But there was pressure, in medieval Europe, from another quarter also. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a great growth in the number and the size of cities. Thriving industries required the labor of many hands, and the free air of cities made free men as feudal landlords found the cities competing with them in the labor market at their very doors. Furthermore, the growth of cities directly influenced the evolution of medieval farming. As a city grew, there came to be an increasing demand upon the surrounding countryside for the products of market gardens and dairy farms, and serf-filled manors could not adjust themselves to this demand. Not only were initiative and resourcefulness lacking in serf labor, but the crop-rotation economy of the manor was singularly inflexible. The towns also entered the picture in another way. In the many cities of northern and western Europe where the textile industry had established itself, there developed a considerable demand for wool. Some landlords, more especially in England, found it more profitable to sweep the serfs off the land and raise sheep. Sheep raising requires only a few laborers, and pasture farms with a handful of shepherds thus began to take the place of manors crowded with serfs. The great development of winegrowing in Guienne, Gascony, and elsewhere brought freedom to the serfs in those regions; for vine culture, like market gardening, calls for qualities which medieval serfs did not possess. All in all, however, the medieval city was the greatest liberating influence. The rapidity of emancipation in western Europe depended on the rate of growth of urban population.

Emancipating landlords did not waive all their rights at once. French lords were especially tenacious of the time-honored incidents of feudal tenure, and right down to the Revolution of 1789 the peasants of France had to put up with irksome and inconvenient exactions. Their lands were continually overrun by hunters; pigeon lofts and rabbit warrens were maintained at the peasants' expense; the peasants had to grind corn at the lord's mill and in many cases bake their bread at his bakehouse. The landlords of France continued also to exact tolls on goods passing through their lands. At their worst, however, these vestiges of the feudal regime were trivial in comparison with the great gains which emancipation brought. The hateful death duties and marriage rights were generally abolished. Greatest of all was the moral gain. The former serfs became free men, not bound to the soil and subject to their lord's jurisdiction. They could leave their village and go elsewhere if they chose. In some regions, in the south of Europe particularly, the peasants were able to buy their lands outright.

Both the period during which emancipation was achieved and the rate at which it proceeded differed greatly in different parts of Europe. Emancipation came very early in northern Italy and in Flanders because of the number and size of the towns in those regions. The process was slower in England than in France, though fewer of the hateful incidents of the feudal tenure remained in England at the end. In Germany emancipation was slowest of all; even in the eighteenth century much remained to be done. In eastern Germany, indeed, among the free colonizers beyond the Elbe, a feudalizing tendency was noticeable in the later middle ages. The central government had broken down, large estates were being built up, small men were seeking protection, and eastern Germany was more feudal in the fifteenth century than in the thirteenth. Austrian peasants had to wait until 1848 for emancipation; in Hungary it remained for the First World War to sweep serfdom from the soil.

It is well to recognize that emancipation was not an unmixed blessing. Men were free to fall, economically, as well as to rise. There was a mad scramble for land. Great landlords seized the common land, monopolized the pasture rights and waste lands formerly enjoyed by the peasants, or swept the peasants from the land entirely in building up huge ranches. Among the peasants themselves a cutthroat competition ensued in which the stronger and more ruthless wrested the land away from their fellows, forming a class of rich peasants, like the kulaks of modern Russia. In general, we may say that emancipation was of economic benefit to those who were able to hold on to their land. Its by-product was to create a considerable class of landless laborers, pitilessly exploited by the landlords. The labor problem of the later middle ages, then, was one not of

serfdom but of freedom. Emancipation led to the problem of unemployment.

Agrarian Revolt

Late medieval and early modern times were characterized by frequent and violent agrarian revolt. Doubtless the break-up of the medieval labor system gave the rural masses a taste of freedom which made them eager to improve their position still further. A situation existed somewhat similar to that in our capitalistic age when a substantial upturn in business is marked by an outbreak of strikes as wage earners seek to gain a larger share of the profits of industry. The unrest of the rural masses in medieval Europe was increased by a series of visitations of the bubonic plague, or Black Death, chiefly in the fourteenth century, which carried away about one half of the population. A sudden and prolonged labor shortage ensued, of which the workers sought to take advantage. This effort was bitterly resented by the landlord class, which sought to maintain existing levels of wages and rents and even to revive obsolete labor services. The English Parliament enacted statutes to fix wages at "pre-mortality" levels, and similar legislation was enacted in France and in various parts of Germany and Italy. Armed conflict followed as the rural workers under local leaders organized a scattered resistance. In 1358 came the Jacquerie in France; in 1381, the Peasants' Revolt in England; in 1395, the first of a series of similar revolts in Catalonia. In 1437-1440 the free peasants of Sweden rose against their landlords, who were attempting to reduce them to serfdom again; and in Germany a long series of flare-ups culminated in a general rising of the peasants in 1524. In no one of these struggles were the issues strictly economic; in England and in Germany religious discontent was a prominent factor. In all of them, however, there was evident a growing class consciousness and a clear emphasis on social equality.

When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman?

Nearly all these revolts failed of their immediate purpose. Like most revolutionary outbreaks, these "green revolutions" of late medieval and early modern times did not put things right. They merely indicated that something was wrong.

Emancipation apart, the agricultural life of medieval Europe showed remarkably little change until the eighteenth century. Self-sufficient households grouped together into somewhat more self-sufficient village communities continued to be the way of life for a large majority of the population. Very little improvement was made in agricultural methods

from generation to generation. Indeed, change of any sort was practically impossible so long as the villages of Europe continued the cooperative farming of their arable lands, rotating the accustomed crops among the three great fields and keeping their flocks and herds in a common pasture. In England an important modification of agricultural life took place during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when wool growing partly displaced the plow. But the uproar raised by the displaced tenants seems to have been out of proportion to the numbers involved, for probably not more than half a million acres were grassed over. Some modification of the village map was inevitable as ambitious and unscrupulous peasants built up their leaseholds at the expense of their less fortunate, less able, or more restless neighbors. It was well known that by separating his acres from the land farmed by the village community a man might increase his return by one third. But "capitalist farming" such as this, while not unknown, was practically confined to the neighborhood of the larger cities. On the whole, European farming was and long continued to be farming for subsistence, the peasantry consuming what they produced down to the last grain.

Commerce and Industry

Predominantly rural as Europe was, it had many and important cities in early modern times. The period of their most rapid growth, once city life revived after the fall of Rome, was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Growth continued through the next century, though at a slower pace, after which most European cities stood still up to the nineteenth century. Northern Italy remained the urban center of Europe, with well over one hundred cities. Venice in the fifteenth century had 200,000 inhabitants; Florence, Milan, and Genoa, half as many each. Flanders remained the Lombardy of the north, its eight provinces constituting almost a "continuous town." In the province of Brabant a quarter of the population was urban. Bruges had 100,000 inhabitants; Ghent, 80,000. In France incomparably the largest city was Paris with 300,000; Rouen, Amiens, Lyons, and Bordeaux were much smaller, though the last was the queen city of the south. The relative slowness of economic development in England is reflected in the size of London, her one large city, with its 46,000 (1378). In Germany there were literally scores of cities; urban life was the one bright spot in Germany's later medieval history. Orderly and prosperous as they were, however, German cities were small. The population of Cologne, largest by far, was about 50,000.

In Europe's urban life, changes occurred that were more drastic in nature and more sweeping in extent than in its agricultural life. Industry

and commerce were reorganized on capitalistic lines. Medieval men had a prejudice against individuals who got an income from their funds. This was due in the main to the attitude of the church but it was due also to the fact that borrowed money was frequently used to finance wars and other unproductive enterprises. Such loans, obviously, were repaid slowly and incompletely; interest charges were very high. Then, too, a considerable proportion of medieval moneylenders were Jews, who had taken up that profession partly because other means of livelihood were denied them. During the later middle ages various subterfuges were employed by Christian moneylenders to avoid the prohibition against usury, a favorite one being the formation of a company. The fulminations of the church could have little effect upon an impersonal corporation. In the fifteenth century, however, all restraints were thrust aside and all subterfuges abandoned. Businessmen had finally learned that money no less than labor could be hired.

Rise of Capitalism

The rise of capitalism accompanied the discovery of new ways of productively employing capital and of employing it on a larger scale. Commerce had always afforded a certain limited field for capital; a man could invest his money in a cargo of merchandise, transport it to a distant point, and sell it at a profit. During the fourteenth century, however, capitalists began to get a foothold in industry. In Florence important wool, silk, and cloth industries gave employment to thousands. The workers were organized in guilds, membership in which was limited to those actively engaged as workers in the industry itself. Florentine merchants built up a market for Florentine products all over Europe, and became regular and large purchasers from the Florentine guilds. They were therefore in a position to dictate to the guilds in matters of quality, price, and output. In short, the merchants of Florence came to be capitalist employers. They limited the number of shops, and therefore of master workers. The number of unskilled employees was greatly increased. Thus capital and labor became the basis of the Florentine textile industry.

From merchandising to banking is but a step, and the Florentines soon took it. The banking houses of Florence financed the princes and the prince-bishops of all Europe in the fourteenth century. Their interest charges varied from 4 per cent to 175 per cent, according to circumstances. Much of modern banking practice derives from the methods of these early houses—the letter of credit, for example, the invention of which was of immense importance in European economic history. The Florentine banking houses of the fourteenth century—Riccardi, Bardi, Peruzzi,

and others—were soon put in the shade by the Medici. When Cosimo de' Medici died in 1464 he left a fortune of 225,000 gold florins. Like a good many big banks today, the house of the Medici played a decisive part in the political life of the times.

What happened in Florence was happening in other cities on both sides of the Alps. Capitalists were appearing everywhere. In Venice some two thousand merchant princes owned most of the wealth; at Freiburg thirty-seven burgesses owned half the wealth; at Basel 4 per cent of the population had nearly all the wealth. Jacques Cœur, a French merchant prince of the fifteenth century, amassed a fortune of twenty-seven million francs. William de la Pole of England and the Fuggers, the Baumgartners, and the Hochstetters of Germany are other examples of fifteenth-century millionaires.

Mercantilism

A second line along which the reconstruction of Europe's economic life proceeded was the substitution of the nation for the city as the basis of industrial life and commercial policy. Here again Italy was the teacher of Europe. Several of the Italian cities had become important territorial powers. The necessity of controlling their food supply explains the first expansion, and industrial and commercial rivalry carried the process further. Then came a period of adjustment to new conditions. The development of the textile industry north of the Alps brought about a rapid decline in the clothmaking firms of Italy. Changing trade routes diverted trade to the north. There followed economic depression, both in industry and in commerce, and Italian capitalists and merchants turned their stored-up wealth into other channels. Banking was developed, as we have seen, and investment in land became universal among men of wealth. The swarm of city-states in central and northern Italy was replaced by a few large "country-states." Venice, Milan, and Florence were especially successful in these transition policies.

The rulers of such states naturally thought of the economic problems of the state as a whole. To promote domestic industry, extend foreign commerce, and accumulate a treasure with which to carry on war became the objectives of all Italian rulers. The exaction of protective tariffs, the use of bounties and subsidies, the safeguarding of industrial processes, and the conquest of new sources of food supply and raw materials were some of the means they employed. This mixture of politics and economics is known as mercantilism. Italian writers on statecraft helped to spread a knowledge of the theory and practice of mercantilism to the larger country-states north of the Alps. At the close of the Hundred Years' War Charles VII of France began to shape French economic policy along

national lines. Italian bankers were dropped and native merchants favored. Jacques Cœur became the royal adviser and treasurer. Similarly, Edward IV of England began to drive foreigners out of English industry and commerce and to organize English companies and build up English shipping. The importance of mercantilism as a factor in the integration of nation-states is obvious. Before long the beginning of overseas expansion opened up opportunities for national enterprise on an unprecedented scale.

The Age of Discoveries

The later middle ages brought a great increase in geographical knowledge. So great, in fact, were the advances made in geography during this period that it has become known as the Age of Discoveries. The geographical knowledge of the ancient world had been summed up by the Hellenistic scholar Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria in the second century of the Christian era. For some centuries thereafter little progress was made. "Bible Geography" held sway, and on such maps as there were the earth was represented as a circle of land with Jerusalem at the center. The surrounding ocean was full of unknown terrors. In the thirteenth century, however, a great forward step was taken.

The conquests of Genghiz Khan and his successors resulted in the establishment of a vast overland empire stretching from China to Russia. Traders and missionaries from western Europe were tolerated and even welcomed by the officials of the Great Khan. The accounts of these travelers circulated throughout the West, and scholars could thus become fairly familiar with the geography of central Asia. The most famous of the Asiatic travelers was the Venetian Marco Polo (1254-1324). Having made his way to the capital of the Great Khan as a lad in the company of his two uncles, merchants of Venice, Marco won the favor of the Tartar authorities and entered their service. For twenty years he traveled the length and breadth of the Mongol empire and beyond, visiting Burma, Siam, Cochin China, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Madagascar, and Abyssinia. Returning at length to his native city, he was drawn into the never ceasing wars between Venice and Genoa. Captured and held a prisoner, Marco whiled away the time by relating his travels to a fellow prisoner, who appreciated their importance and gave them to the world in written form. This manuscript became the most famous travel book of the middle ages.

But the greatest triumphs of the new geography were won on the sea. Improvements in the science of navigation were so numerous and so important in the later middle ages as to be revolutionary. The Mediterranean was the principal nursery of the "new navigation." The compass, known to Europeans in a rudimentary form in the twelfth century, was

rapidly improved in the hands of Italian sailors. Ships, no longer confined to coasting along familiar shores, could now launch forth boldly toward their objective. Improvements were made also in the arts of measuring time and of calculating latitude and longitude. The scientific knowledge of the Arabs had long been familiar to the Italians, and to this they added the fruit of their own experience and such scraps of ancient learning as they possessed. Before long the Italians began to prepare maps of the coasts with which they had become familiar. These maps were known as port guides, or *portulani*. They are the first maps, in the modern sense, in European history. By 1350 these port guides showed the whole of the Mediterranean coast with almost modern accuracy. At the same time enterprising sailors, especially the Genoese, began to push westward into the Atlantic. The prospect of profit in trade with regions yet unknown was sufficient to lure them on once the science of navigation made it reasonably certain they could find their way back. The northwest coast of Africa was explored for a few hundred miles, and the Canary and Madeira islands were discovered. Finally the Azores were reached, 750 miles west of Portugal, one third of the way to America. In the meantime Hansa merchants from the Baltic had voyaged westward to Iceland and learned there of the existence of Greenland and Vineland. All this by the middle of the fourteenth century.

During the fifteenth century the new navigation gained impetus from two sources, the classical revival and the expansion of Portugal. The classical revival we shall examine in a later chapter. Among the hundreds of manuscripts uncovered, copied, and broadcast by the printing press were writings on mathematics, astronomy, and other aids to navigation. The scientific knowledge of the ancient world was thus made known completely and widely. Ptolemy's *Geographica* was printed. His insistence upon the sphericity of the earth and his calculation, or rather miscalculation, of the earth's size became commonplaces. Scholars interested themselves in working through the mathematical and astronomical knowledge of the ancient world and adding to it. Two German mathematicians, Purbach of Vienna and Regiomontanus (as Johann Müller preferred to call himself) of Nuremberg, published notable works in this field about the middle of the fifteenth century. Navigators eagerly seized upon these products of the printing press. Columbus carried German astronomical tables in his charthouse.

Portuguese Expansion

Having expelled the Moors from her natural frontiers by the close of the thirteenth century, Portugal was chiefly concerned thereafter with

maintaining herself in the face of the growing power of Castile. Toward the end of the fourteenth century King John I of Portugal married a daughter of John of Gaunt, the English magnate, whose son, Henry of Bolingbroke, became king of England as Henry IV. Thus began an alliance, the most permanent in European history, which helped Portugal to stand on her own feet. Portugal's windows now opened on the Atlantic. The internal resources of the country were not great, and with the Moors expelled, the Portuguese grandees and their followers looked for more worlds against which to direct their crusading ardor. In 1415 an expedition was launched against the Moors across the straits in North Africa, and the important stronghold of Ceuta was taken. This feat of arms marks the beginning of the overseas expansion of Portugal, and indeed of Europe.

The hero of the Portuguese attack upon Ceuta was Prince Henry, King John's third son (1394-1460). The young prince was made governor of the captured city. Chosen grand master, about the same time, of the powerful military Order of Jesus Christ, Prince Henry conceived the design of leading the order in a campaign against the Moslem power in Africa. His plan was not to attack the Moslems of North Africa directly but to by-pass them, and skirting the long Atlantic coast of the Sahara to the west and south, to establish a "greater Portugal" in the rich and populous valley of the Senegal. Not that the Portuguese knew much about what they would find when they got there. They had seen maps made by Arab geographers centuries earlier whereon the coastal plain southwest of the Sahara was labeled simply *Bilad Ghana*, or "land of wealth." The river which watered this fertile tract was supposed to be a "western Nile" whose waters came down, like those of the real Nile, from the highlands of Abyssinia. What a triumph for Christendom if the Portuguese could occupy the valley of this western Nile, effect a juncture with the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, and thus encircle the Moslems of Africa! It might be that Jerusalem could thus be recovered. Furthermore, it was believed that slaves were to be had for the taking on the *Ghana* or Guinea coast. Buyers could be found among the grandees of Portugal and Spain, for much land lay empty as a result of the long wars. The bitter plight of the slaves would turn to blessedness, it was thought, through their conversion to Christianity.

For nearly half a century Prince Henry labored at his task. Bigger and stronger ships were built to withstand the heavier seas of the Atlantic, and the square-rigged sailship displaced the Mediterranean galley. Genoese navigators were employed, and western Europe was ransacked for mapmakers and mathematicians. As steppingstones to the south, the Canary, Madeira, Azores, and Cape Verde islands were occupied and colonized. Most of these island groups had long been known by Europeans,

but they had lain neglected. The mouth of the Senegal was reached at last, and gold and ivory as well as slaves were brought back to Portugal. Plans were laid for building churches and dividing the land into parishes. Not much progress had been made in colonizing the valley of the Senegal when Prince Henry died (1460). It is doubtful whether this famous prince had dreamed of going farther south; the efforts of his later years had been concentrated on completing the colonization of the Azores.

After Henry's death Portuguese sailors, from their bases on the west coast of Africa, began to push farther and ever farther to the south. Within a quarter of a century three times as many miles of the African coast were charted as in the prince's whole lifetime. In 1486 Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed on the southern coast of Africa. The whole purpose of the Portuguese was transformed, for it was now clear that the great eastern trade was within reach.

Prince Henry had sought to found in Africa a crusaders' state which should be a step to the recovery of the Holy Land. This medieval ideal was cherished also by Columbus, whose zeal to open up a new way to India was sustained by the hope of investing his profits in a crusade. His discovery of the New Isles changed all that. Still earlier, however, and even more clearly, we may see the transition from medieval to modern in the changing viewpoint of the Portuguese during the quarter-century following the death of Prince Henry. Not the establishment of a base for a crusade but the opening of a new trade route to Asia became the goal of Portuguese policy. Indeed, the news of the successful voyage of Dias effected something like a revolution in European thought. It was evident that the medieval world had burst through its shell and that Europe was face to face with changes of unknowable magnitude. The professor of classical literature at Florence, Politian, wrote a flowery letter of congratulation to the king of Portugal saying something much to that effect. It was a graceful tribute of the new learning to the new navigation.

While some were pushing ever farther to the south in the attempt to round Africa, others were sailing directly westward. The notion that the East could be reached by way of the West was some eighteen centuries old. It had never been completely lost sight of even in the middle ages. The revival of classical learning brought a renewed interest in the westward route, and the scholars of the later middle ages gave the matter much thought. Following Ptolemy, the mapmakers of the fifteenth century drew their world much too small, making it appear that Asia was but a few days' sail westward from Lisbon. Various islands were indicated as halfway stations; the existence of the American continents was not dreamed of. In 1474 a famous map of this sort was brought to the Portuguese capital. It was the work of the Italian Toscanelli, the greatest physicist of

his day. Similar maps were in the hands of sailors and students of navigation in Spain, France, and England.

The sensational success of the Portuguese in rounding Africa set Europe ablaze with excitement. If Asia could be reached by rounding Africa, how much more easily could it be reached by sailing to the west! For the Cape of Good Hope was a good three months' sail of more than four thousand miles from Portugal, and even then India was far away. Sailors from Portuguese, Spanish, and English ports scoured the Atlantic searching for the mysterious islands which might serve as halfway stations.

The Voyages of Columbus

Cristoforo Colombo, a Genoese sailor, had gone to Portugal as a youth, drawn thither like so many others by the seafaring enterprise of the western kingdom. He married a Portuguese wife and took part, year after year, in the exploration of the African coast. He also made voyages to Bristol, in the west of England, and followed the trade route of the Bristol sailors to Iceland and beyond. There were few men who understood the navigation of the Atlantic, north and south, as did this Genoese sailor. Well versed in the theory of the western route, Columbus resolved to set his course boldly for Asia without bothering to look for the elusive islands which were supposed to mark the way. His plan called for a minimum of three ships with provisions for a year. It remained to get financial backing for his daring enterprise. The story of the negotiations of Columbus with Portugal, Genoa, England, and Spain, and of his final success, is one of the most familiar in history and need not be retold here. It will be recognized, of course, that the discovery of America was really due to the maritime enterprise of the Portuguese, and that the winning of the honor by Spain was accidental.

Spain's success, in 1492, in finding what was apparently a western route to Asia inspired the Portuguese to push their own project to completion, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama reached India by a voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, a voyage more arduous if less brilliant than that of Columbus. The Portuguese cargo on the return trip, consisting of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and precious stones, was sold at a profit of 600 per cent. Meanwhile English sailors caught the fever. The merchants of Bristol had long carried on a flourishing trade with Iceland. Learning of the existence of a "Vineland" far to the west, Bristol sailors began to scour the northern Atlantic in search of it. Knowing of this interest in westward exploration, Columbus had sent his brother to England to secure the backing of her king for his projected voyage, and an invitation to visit England and talk things over finally reached Columbus

just as he was signing his agreement with the Spanish sovereigns. The success of Columbus stirred the English to employ a Venetian named Cabot to lead a western expedition, and following the old Norse route, Cabot landed on the shores of Labrador in 1497.

The Portuguese Empire

The immensely profitable voyage of Vasco da Gama stirred all Portugal. A rush for Eastern wealth ensued, in which every class joined according to its ability. So many Portuguese were engaged in trade or were serving in garrisons overseas that the land was half depopulated. By the middle of the sixteenth century Portugal had established trading ports along both the western and the eastern coast of Africa, at the mouths of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, on the west coast of India, on the island of Ceylon, at Malacca on the Straits, throughout the Spice Islands, and in Canton, China. This had not been accomplished without a struggle. The diversion of eastern trade to the all-water route around Africa roused the sultan of Egypt and his Arab intermediaries to quick and strenuous resistance, which Venice, Egypt's intermediary on the west, was active in organizing. Certain Indian princes joined the combination, and a fleet was assembled which seemed destined to sweep the Portuguese from eastern waters. The conflict took on something of the character of a religious war, for the Portuguese regarded all Moslems as Moors, their hated enemies for centuries, and treated them accordingly. Girding themselves for a decisive battle, the Portuguese sent a large fleet into the Indian Ocean and closed with their enemies off Diu on the northwest coast of India in 1509. A great victory secured for Portugal the control of the Indian Ocean for a century. In the following year a military and naval base was established at Goa, on the west coast of India, from which the Portuguese policed their sea lanes.

In their headlong pursuit of wealth the Portuguese neglected to build firm the foundations of national prosperity. In the East they were traders, not planters, at no point penetrating into the interior to secure a firm grip on the political and economic life of the areas they were exploiting. Furthermore, the Portuguese were content to take a quick profit on their cargoes at Lisbon, leaving to other Europeans the less spectacular but in the long run more profitable trade between Lisbon and the north. Flemish merchants, quick and active, secured this trade and Antwerp was shortly a wealthier city than Lisbon. Moreover, the absorption of the Portuguese in trade led to their neglect of agriculture and home industries. These solid bases of national prosperity crumbled into ruins. When Portuguese monopoly of the Eastern trade was broken and profits dwindle

dled, a long and difficult period of economic readjustment was necessary. Furthermore, in the contest for world trade and world empire which finally ensued, Portugal was at a disadvantage despite her early start and strategic location. Her population was no more than two million at the opening of the sixteenth century, and such was the drain of her man power overseas and its wastage through war, disease, and disaster that at the close of the century the figure stood at about one million. Nor had Portugal the capital to finance her own ventures; she depended from the first upon Italian, Flemish; and German bankers. Naturally these financiers soon demanded and obtained a directing voice in Portuguese enterprises.

Meanwhile, however, Portugal was slowly laying the foundation in another part of the world for another kind of empire, less showy and less profitable, but more enduring. The year after Vasco da Gama's return from India, Cabral set sail from Lisbon for the East with a fleet of thirteen ships and 1200 men. Bearing a bit farther to the west and south than usual, the sooner to catch the trade winds, Cabral was surprised to find land. This was the coast of South America, which the Portuguese promptly claimed for their king. Some years elapsed before this claim was followed up, since Portugal's eyes were set in a different direction, but eventually colonies were planted and the possibilities of the new land explored. Sugar cane and other tropical plants were introduced from the Orient, and an important market for Negro slaves from the settlements on the west coast of Africa was thus assured. Indeed, Brazil early became a valuable sugar colony. The discovery of gold and diamonds further sharpened Portuguese interest in the new colony.

Spanish Expansion

On the return of Columbus from the New World a messenger was hurriedly despatched to Rome to secure the pope's confirmation of the Spanish claim. Alexander VI was of the Spanish family of Borgia. Portugal also appealed to the pope, fearing that Columbus was grasping at some of its own sphere of interest in the Indies. Claiming the overlordship of the world in matters temporal as well as spiritual, the pope did not hesitate to hand down a decision reconciling the conflicting claims. This was the famous Line of Demarcation (1493), which drew a meridian 100 leagues beyond the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, assigning to Spain all lands to the west of that line. Fearful that this line would not give his sailors along the west coast of Africa enough sea room, King John II of Portugal a year later secured from Spain a modification of this arrangement. The Treaty of Tordesillas fixed the line 170 leagues farther west.

It will be noted that this revision gave Portugal an undisputed title to its settlements in Brazil.

The first two decades after the famous first voyage of Columbus were spent by Spanish sailors in a feverish effort to find the Spice Islands and other greatly coveted areas of the Indies which Columbus was supposed to have reached. In this activity Columbus himself joined. The islands of the Caribbean became well known to these early sailors, and they touched upon the coast of South America, the peninsula of Florida, and various coastal regions of the Gulf of Mexico. In 1513 Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and from an eminence viewed the broad expanse of the Pacific. It began to dawn upon the Spanish that they were in contact not with Asia, but with a continent which blocked the way to Asia. Then began the frantic search for a passage through, the Spaniards pushing farther and farther southward along the coast of South America year by year, as the Portuguese had done along the African coast a hundred years earlier. Finally a Portuguese sailor named Fernando Magellan decided to sail westward to the Spice Islands round the southern cape of South America, claiming that the islands were within the hemisphere assigned to Spain by the treaty of 1494. Long experienced in the Eastern trade, Magellan had left the Portuguese service in anger at unfair treatment and offered his services to the Spanish sovereign, Charles V. With the backing of the Spanish king he set sail with five small ships September 20, 1519. More than a year elapsed before Magellan found that the enormous estuary of the Rio de la Plata was not the passage he was seeking. Pushing farther southward, he discovered the strait which bears his name and emerged into the Pacific after a stormy passage lasting a month, during which he lost one ship by desertion and another in a gale. Launching out into the unknown vastness of the Pacific, Magellan and his men sailed on and on for thirteen months and twenty days, encountering in all that weary waste of water only two small and uninhabited islands. At last the flotilla arrived at the Philippines, which were promptly claimed for Spain. In a clash with the natives Magellan was killed. Of the three remaining ships, one was burned; a second sought to return to Spain by recrossing the Pacific, was forced to turn back, and was eventually captured by the Portuguese. The sole surviving ship, the "Victoria," continued westward and finally reached home September 8, 1522, three years, lacking fourteen days, after it had set forth. Its cargo of twenty-seven tons of cloves more than paid for the entire cost of the expedition. This first circumnavigation of the globe is surely the greatest voyage the world has ever known.

While sailors were searching the American coasts for a passage to the Indies, other Spanish adventurers were seeking for hidden wealth in the

interior. In 1519 Cortes with a few hundred men marched through the heart of Mexico and there laid the foundation for Spanish rule. The natives were far more numerous here than farther north, and they had built up a higher civilization, whose treasures now fell into the lap of Spain. Mines were discovered more valuable than any Europe had known. In 1531 Pizarro made a conquest of Peru. Thousands of Spaniards left their homeland and settled in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere in the New World, a race of aristocrats exploiting the natives and their wealth. A new and composite civilization was quickly improvised. Its foundation was slave labor, first Indian and then African Negro.

From Peru Spanish conquest spread to Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Argentine. From Mexico an expedition was sent under Coronado, in 1540, to find other rich lands to the north and east. It wandered through our own Southwest and finally reached what is now eastern Kansas before turning back, having failed to find the easy wealth it sought. Other expeditions followed the Pacific coast as far north as the present Oregon. Finally, in 1564, the Philippines, named in honor of Philip II of Spain, were systematically occupied. Thus were laid the foundations of a Spanish empire.

French and English Enterprises

The pope had declared the whole of the undiscovered world to be a monopoly of the Spanish and Portuguese, and both peoples set out to make that grant an accomplished fact. Francis I of France asked to be shown the clause in Adam's will which excluded France from a share in his inheritance, but he was content in the main to leave it at that. In 1521, it is true, the French king sent Verrazzano to look for a northeast passage, away from the region of Spanish-Portuguese activity, and in 1534 Jacques Cartier set forth under the French flag on a similar mission to the northwest. Both ventures failed, but Cartier established for France a claim on Canada which was taken up a century later. Increasingly preoccupied with his Italian wars, Francis I turned his back on the New World for the rest of his reign. There followed, after a brief interval, a series of civil wars which postponed for more than half a century all overseas enterprise on the part of France.

England was more active and upon the whole more persistent than France in her efforts to break through the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly. Beginning with John Cabot, a succession of sailors in English employ—among them Davis, Frobisher, Baffin, Gilbert, and Hudson—searched frantically for a northwest passage. The possibility of such a route interested the English, since it seemed to promise a shortened way to the

Orient. For half a century English sailors refrained from poaching on Spanish preserves. Spain was a great power and England a small one. Moreover, the dynasties of the two countries were interrelated, and for the most part friendly, until the death of Mary in 1558. Englishmen were more and more restive, however, as they saw the easily won wealth of the New World pouring into Spanish pockets. After 1558 their national church, if not their national monarchy, was under the menace of attack from Spain, the self-designated champion of the Roman Catholic Church. English sailors began boldly to attack Spanish ships, first in the English Channel, then in Spanish waters, and finally in the New World itself. The doings of these Elizabethan seamen are highly romantic. They may be dealt with more appropriately a little later.

The City of Antwerp

Symbolic of the economic and commercial revolution of early modern times is the rise of the city of Antwerp. On the banks of the Scheldt but not far from the sea, Antwerp was conveniently located with respect to both ocean-borne commerce and inland trade. Even more important than her location was her policy. Antwerp had not been prominent in medieval trade, and hence her merchants had not developed those rigid regulations so characteristic of the successful cities of the middle ages. Sensing the opportunities offered by the age of discovery, the merchants of Antwerp, with the friendly encouragement of their Hapsburg overlords, established a free port, inscribing above the portal of their exchange in 1531, "For the use of merchants of all nations and tongues." The growth of Antwerp's trade was phenomenal; she became the recognized distributing center in the north for goods brought from the Old World and the New. German, Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian merchants thronged the quays and the markets. A brisk trade soon sprang up in bills of exchange and other credit instruments. Borrowers flocked to this new money market and Antwerp became the financial center of Europe. As a money market Antwerp exhibited all the familiar characteristics of a modern financial center with its bulls and bears, its close study of foreign news, and its wildcat investment schemes. Antwerp was the first great "seat of unbridled capitalism," profiting to the fullest extent from the commercial opportunities afforded by the age of discoveries. Venice, medieval mistress of the Mediterranean, was cast in the shade.

Antwerp's boom lasted less than a century. A possession of the Spanish Hapsburgs, she suffered a blight from Philip II's religious policies, as we shall see. Heresy-hunting in her streets drove merchants and money-

lenders northward. In 1576 the "Spanish Fury" left her in ruins. First Amsterdam and then London succeeded to the post of primacy in commerce and finance, and each in turn saw to it that the river approach to Antwerp was sealed. Napoleon freed her harbor at last and Antwerp has now recovered her former prosperity, but today she is only one commercial center among many.

CHAPTER III

The Awakening in Learning, Art, and Science

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES the learning, the art, and the literature of Europe were but channels through which the church poured forth her teachings. Civilization was consciously shaped toward ends chosen by the church. Scholasticism, medieval learning's greatest product, was man's attempt to justify the dicta of faith to his reason. The technique was Aristotelian logic, and in the work of St. Thomas Aquinas the scholastic method achieved its culminating triumph, a faith rooted and grounded in reason. The synthesis of St. Thomas was of such vast proportions, such skyward-reaching aspirations, and such elaborate detail as to call to mind a Gothic cathedral. The great doctor was scarcely in his grave, however, when other scholastics began to find flaws in the structure.

The Modernists

The most brilliant of these critics was Duns Scotus (*c.* 1265–1308). Of Scotch birth and Oxford training, he taught in the University of Paris, then the greatest center of learning in Europe. With an acuteness of mind seldom equaled, the subtle doctor, as he was called, found serious defects in much of what had passed for sound reasoning. In attempting to strengthen weak points, the conscientious Scot carried logical processes to such a stage of overelaboration as to make the scholastic method appear ridiculous. Duns Scotus was succeeded and superseded by his pupil William of Ockham (*c.* 1300–1349). Born in England, Ockham like his predecessor was trained at Oxford and became a lecturer at Paris. Here he boldly threw overboard the whole scholastic method, averring that it was impossible to attain any part of Christian truth through the process of reason alone. A new basis must be found for truth, he declared, in observation and experience through the senses. William's influence remained dominant at Paris throughout the fourteenth century. His followers, known as the "sons of Ockham," or *moderni*, "remained Christians only by an act of faith."

The contributions to modernism of another English scholar were of a more positive character. Roger Bacon (d. 1294) had also gone from Ox-

ford to Paris, where he won the doctorate. He then gave twenty years to scientific research in mathematics, physics, optics, and chemistry. He spent much money on instruments, and it is known that he constructed several microscopes for his own use. More remarkable than his studies was the spirit in which he made them. In forty years of listening to the scholastics he had learned nothing, he said. Bacon insisted that firsthand knowledge was the sole basis of truth. He maintained that even in the study of the scriptures the scholar must have access to the original Hebrew and Greek. Bacon's scientific work stood unsurpassed until the seventeenth century.

Thus had begun, in the world of learned men, a vigorous pursuit of facts. Many of the scholars of the later middle ages achieved a new attitude toward life and displayed a fresh and unashamed interest in nature and in human nature. These scholars are known as humanists, and their contributions to culture constitute one of the most important features of the brilliant civilization of the times which we call the Renaissance.

Humanism was not a wholly new thing by any means. Humanists were to be found, as exceptions to the general trend, in each of the medieval centuries. Above all, humanism had characterized the thought and culture of Greece and Rome. It is not surprising, therefore, that scholars who were in revolt against medieval institutions, who were denouncing the standards of their day, turned to the life and culture of classical antiquity for support and inspiration. Seeking to rid their minds of medievalism, the leaders of the Renaissance found in the classical writers men whose minds had never been medieval. Plato and Aristotle are modern; their writings are informed by a scientific spirit—that is, by a determination to push an inquiry as far as the mind can carry it, overriding all conventions, inhibitions, and taboos.

Revival of Classical Studies

In the revival of classical studies Italian scholars took the lead. Far more than any other land of western Europe, Italy was strewn with the monuments of classical antiquity. Indeed, the tradition of classical studies had never quite died out in the Italian peninsula. Northern Italy, particularly, was a region of urban culture and secular spirit, less than other regions under the influence of the feudal and ecclesiastical traditions characteristic of medieval Europe. Moreover, the Italian cities could supply in numbers the wealthy patrons which humanism required. Here were many old families of great wealth whose members had both the means and the leisure to give free rein to their love of life. Fighting and love-making were universally popular and even monopolized the energies of not a few

of the idle rich, but there were others who began to collect manuscripts and practice the arts, or who at least began to encourage others to do so.

Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), or Petrarch, a Florentine, has been called the first modern scholar, even the first modern man. The classics, Petrarch believed, should be studied as records of concrete facts and experience. A few medieval scholars had been as well acquainted with the Latin classics as Petrarch, but they had been far too prone to take a professional view of their studies, searching the classics for support of Christian dogma or merely perfecting themselves in the use of Latin with a view to professional advancement. Petrarch wanted to know what the Greek and Roman scholars thought and felt. He seems to have studied for the fun of it. "My tireless spirit pores over the pages," he writes, "until it has exhausted both fingers and eyes, and yet I feel neither hunger nor cold but would seem to be reclining on the softest down. I labor while I rest and find my rest in labor." Petrarch became an enthusiastic student of classical archaeology and a collector of manuscripts and coins. Cicero was his favorite author, and Petrarch strove to perfect himself in an elegant classical style, in contrast to the careless style common among his fellow clergymen. The changing temper of the times is revealed by the fact that Petrarch's ideas were immensely popular. He was extravagantly welcomed and feted everywhere he went, and he may be said to have achieved the position in his own day of intellectual arbiter of Europe.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) was a devoted friend and admirer of Petrarch. He began his literary career as a follower of Dante, of whom he wrote a biography. From the medievalism of Dante, Boccaccio turned to the classics and he became as zealous a collector of manuscripts as Petrarch himself, busying himself also with exhaustive compilations of extracts from the classical authors. Following the bent of his genius finally, and yielding completely to the humanistic spirit of the times, Boccaccio turned from books about life to life itself, employing as his medium of self-expression a living language. The literary framework of his famous *Decameron* is provided by an imaginary group of cultured ladies and gentlemen of Florence who shut themselves off from the world for a time as a means of escape from the plague. They whiled away the days by telling stories. Boccaccio got his stories from everywhere. Scarcely one of them was new; it is his way of telling them that was new. He did not aim to edify or instruct, in the medieval fashion; indeed, many of his tales are definitely unedifying. Boccaccio's aim was sheer pleasure and entertainment, objectives which he achieved largely through literary artistry. The *Decameron* is the first great work of Italian prose and a landmark in the

history of Italian humanism. In the contrast between the *Divine Comedy* of Dante and the very human comedy of Boccaccio we have another good example of the transition from medieval to modern.

The collecting and copying of manuscripts, the study of Roman remains, and the unearthing of classical sculptures soon became a major passion among the Italians. There was hardly an Italian prince or noble, scarcely a cardinal or pope, who did not devote energy and fortune to this fascinating pursuit. They were assisted by an increasing number of professional scholars whose talents were ever in demand among the wealthy patrons. The monasteries not only of Italy but of Switzerland, Germany, and France were ransacked for neglected masterpieces of classical literature. Letters of Cicero, treatises of Pliny, histories of Livy and of Tacitus, were discovered. The libraries of Constantinople were brought under requisition and hundreds of Greek manuscripts found their way into western Europe. Great collections began to be formed, such as those of the Medici in Florence and of the popes at Rome. Nicholas V founded the papal library with a gift of five thousand manuscripts. An especially enthusiastic and successful collector was a papal secretary named Poggio Bracciolini. He had had a thorough training in both Latin and Greek, and his duties carried him on journeys north of the Alps during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Convinced that there were manuscripts of great value lying forgotten in monastic libraries, this scholar succeeded in finding twelve of the comedies of Plautus, two of Cicero's orations, and a complete edition of Quintilian. Such finds to such a scholar must have been thrilling indeed.

A special feature of the renewed interest in the classics was a revival of the study of Greek. The knowledge of Greek had practically died out in western Europe. Boccaccio is accounted the first modern Italian to have learned it. If the young enthusiasts who were at war with medievalism found solace and support in Latin literature, still more would they find them in Greek. A Byzantine scholar named Manuel Chrysoloras taught Greek at Florence, Milan, and Venice toward the end of the fourteenth century and, about 1400, wrote a Greek grammar much used thereafter. With this teacher the modern study of Greek may be said to have begun not only in Italy but also in the Western world. With their emphasis upon a free spirit of inquiry in science, a range of philosophical speculation that knows no limit, and a love of the beautiful in every aspect of life, the Greeks had much to teach the world. The revival of Greek contributed to the collapse of scholasticism. It became clear that many of the premises of the scholastics were based upon mistranslations of Aristotle as derived from Arabic sources. There was, indeed, a general revolt from the empire of Aristotle. The works of Plato were translated, and a Platonic cult

literature and many notable works in Latin. To him we owe the introduction of italic type, still commonly used, a cursive type said to have been modeled on Petrarch's handwriting.

The whole world is in debt to the early Italian printers for substituting for the gothic type of the German printers the lighter and more easily legible roman type still in use. Coming at the time it did, print became the highway of culture. Copies of manuscripts could now be multiplied indefinitely. The price of books was cut by four fifths and their circulation enormously increased. What printing has meant, and means, for the advancement of civilization is beyond calculation.

It is interesting to recall in this age of cheap machine-made books that all the early printers sought to make their books as nearly as possible like the manuscript books of the day. Much handwork was expended on the early printed books, especially in the illumination of initial letters. Bindings were beautifully hand-wrought of leather. These facts will help to explain the high prices which early printed books still bring. Not long ago the Congress of the United States appropriated the sum of \$3,000,000 for the purchase of a single lot of incunabula, as books printed before the end of the year 1500 are called. The prejudice against printed books died hard. A fifteenth-century Italian scholar wrote as follows of the library of his ducal patron: "In that library the books are all beautiful in a superlative degree and all are written by the pen. There is not a single one of them printed, for it would be a shame to have one of that sort."

With one exception the names of the scholars of the Renaissance are scarcely known today. Not that their work was unimportant, but they were pioneers in a new field, new to the medieval world at least, and later scholars, continuing their labors, have surpassed them. The exception is Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457). His work on *The Refinements of the Latin Language*, which was republished sixty times in as many years, marks the highest point reached in the critical study of Latin during the Renaissance. But Lorenzo is even more famous as the founder of historical criticism. In 1440, while in the employ of the king of Naples, then at odds with the pope, Lorenzo convincingly demonstrated the spurious character of the celebrated "Donation of Constantine." A few years later a great patron became pope in the person of Nicholas V. He summoned Valla to Rome as a secretary in the papal court, thus inaugurating a close alliance between the papacy and the new learning that endured to the Reformation. Under papal patronage Valla continued his exposure of historical frauds, correcting mistranslations in the Vulgate and stamping as worthless the popular accounts of the origin of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed.

Humanism North of the Alps

From Italy the renewed zeal for classical studies spread northward. Ironically enough, the printing of the classics by the Aldine press of Venice helped to destroy the Italian monopoly in learning. Northern scholars no longer had to come to Italy to learn Greek.

New universities were founded north of the Alps when the older ones proved resistant to humanistic learning. To Germany's nine universities nine more were added in the last half of the fifteenth century. In Spain, also, nine new universities were founded, chiefly in the sixteenth century, however. One of these, Salamanca, could boast of 6778 students (1584). In England many new colleges were founded in the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge. In France Francis I, the "king of culture," founded the Collège de France (1530) as an offset to the famous University of Paris where scholasticism still held sway. Francis also laid the foundations for the Bibliothèque Nationale, the largest and one of the most famous libraries in the world. To the list of new universities in the north should be added Louvain in the Netherlands, Aberdeen in Scotland, and Upsala in Sweden. All these newer schools instituted a system of education based upon the classics.

Northern humanists were scarcely less numerous or less important than those of Italy. Johann Reuchlin (d. 1522) studied philology at Paris, law at Orléans, and Greek in Florence. Impatient with medieval translations and commentaries, the young scholar resolved to return to the sources of Biblical literature. Settling at Stuttgart in his native Germany, Reuchlin devoted his life to the study of Hebrew. His first tutor, for lack of any other, was a Jewish physician. Reuchlin's book *De rudimentis Hebraicis*, a combined dictionary and grammar for use in Old Testament studies, was published in 1506 and marks the beginning of modern Biblical scholarship. At Oxford John Colet (d. 1519), a scholar of active mind and great industry, began to lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul in a new way, going back to the early centuries of the Christian era for his background and authority. To establish close contact with his sources, Colet learned Greek. Henry VIII, a patron of the new learning, made Colet dean of St. Paul's, in London, and there the new dean founded a school for boys on new principles, with a governing board of family men, not priests.

After the first invasion of Italy by the French, in 1494, intercourse between France and Italy was constant for nearly one hundred years. During this lengthy period of close contact, elements of the Italian Renaissance slowly filtered through the medieval culture of France. A Greek named John Lascaris began to teach his native tongue in the

University of Paris in the reign of Charles VIII. A Greek press was established in Paris in 1507. A French scholar named William Budé (d. 1540) became known as the foremost Greek scholar of Europe, publishing his commentary on the Greek language in 1529. In 1530, as we have seen, Francis I founded the Collège de France, chiefly for the study and teaching of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Other French scholars turned from the medieval commentators on Roman law to a fresh study of the text itself.

Spanish students, visitors to Italy in the fifteenth century, carried the seeds of the new learning home with them. Antonio Lebrixa, returning to Spain in 1473 after ten years in Italy, taught Greek and Hebrew at the universities of Seville, Salamanca, and Alcalá. His many pupils carried classical studies to other centers of Spanish learning. Cardinal Ximenes, master, under the crown, of the church in Spain, was so far responsive to the new learning as to cause the New Testament to be printed in the original Greek (1514). Unfortunately this promising beginning of Spanish humanism proved to be illusory. The powerful hostility of the priests and monks and the unenlightened point of view of the crown soon placed a check on the movement.

Erasmus

Greatest of all humanists north or south of the Alps was Desiderius Erasmus. He was born at Rotterdam about 1466. Though well taught in the schools of his time, he was practically self-educated in the new learning. As a youth he displayed marvelous quickness and intellectual power, and to these endowments he added extraordinary industry. He achieved a remarkably fine style in Latin; his facility in Greek was even greater. Erasmus studied and taught not only in his native country but in England, France, and Italy. As great a scholar as any in Italy, he differed from the Italian humanists in his motives. To him learning was not something to be pursued for one's own personal enjoyment and culture; it must have a social value and be directed toward the banishment of ignorance and the uplifting of humanity. Erasmus believed profoundly in the liberating effect of knowledge. He had a positive genius for popularizing the results of scholarship. Hardly any writer has been more widely read or known during his lifetime. A translation of one of his works, the *Enchiridion*, or "Manual of Christian Ethics," was seen by travelers in the rural hostels of Spain. A rumor that his *Colloquia*, or dialogues, was to fall under the ban of the church inspired a Paris bookseller to rush through the press a "final edition" of 24,000 copies of the work. "Of all scholars who have popularized scholarly literature Erasmus was the most

brilliant, the man whose aims were loftiest, and who produced lasting effects over the widest area."

Generally speaking, humanists were not reformers. Montaigne said, "There is nothing for which I wish to break my neck." Erasmus, however, was sensitive to the need of reform, especially the reform of the church. Characteristically he felt that education, in the wide sense, was the only effective means of lasting change. In his famous *Praise of Folly* he ridiculed certain abuses of the church with a sly wit more effective than loud polemics. In polished Latin, with Greek words and phrases interspersed, Erasmus wrote this treatise, so he said, for his own amusement. In a letter to Sir Thomas More, at whose home he finished the work, Erasmus asked, "Is it not unfair that we should permit those in all walks of life to play except the scholar?" Of the theologians he wrote, "They hedge themselves about with such an array of magisterial definitives, conclusions, corollaries, propositions explicate and implicate, and so abound in subterfuges, that chains forged by Vulcan himself could not hold them so firm but that they could escape by one of those destructions which enable them to cut all knots as easily as with a two-edged ax, so readily do they think up and rattle out new and prodigious terms and expressions." Not theologians only but priests and princes were subjects of his satire, sharp as Voltaire's, for their superstitions, follies, and lack of regard for the welfare of the people. Holbein illustrated the book, which passed through twenty-seven editions during the lifetime of its author. Over a hundred years later John Milton, at Cambridge University, found it "in everyone's hands."

A more serious contribution to the cause of religion were the editions by Erasmus of the works of St. Jerome and other Latin Fathers, and his translations from the works of the Greek Fathers. Eager to make known to all just what the Bible says, Erasmus published (1516) the New Testament in Greek, with his own Latin translation printed in a parallel column. He hoped that a flood of translations into the national languages would follow this publication of the Scriptures in convenient accessible form. "I long that the husbandman should sing them to himself as he follows the plow, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveler should beguile with them the uneasiness of his journey."

The many portraits of Erasmus by Holbein have made his features familiar. He was of medium height and graceful figure, highly organized nervously, and sensitive to his environment whether physical or intellectual. His fame was so great and his personality so attractive that Erasmus was the favored friend of popes and cardinals, emperors and kings. His correspondence entailed the writing on his part of as many as forty letters a day. Writing and reading brought him constant and increasing pleas-

ure. His refusal to take sides in the religious controversy of the day brought the charge, still made, that he was a trimmer. Erasmus himself said, though he was alluding to his physical abhorrence to the taste and even the smell of fish, "My heart is Catholic, my stomach is Lutheran." It would seem that active partisanship was impossible for this man.

Erasmus and later educators made classical studies the core of the curriculum of the schools of Europe. Even among the illiterate masses a species of classical knowledge became current, and parents named their children after the men and women of Greece and Rome: Vergil, Homer, Caesar, Aeneas, Diana, Julia, Lucretia, etc. This particular vogue has diminished, but the tradition of classical studies is still a living one. Moreover, we are still to some extent under the spell of the humanists' contempt for things medieval. Their self-centered and complacent view was that between their own brilliant civilization and that of antiquity there had been a long, dark, and dismal period of Gothic barbarism. This they called "the middle ages." In reality, the light of learning has never gone out. If there ever was a revival of learning, after the fall of Rome, it came in the twelfth century. Since then the trend has been steadily upward.

Beginnings of Renaissance Art

Art has been defined as "the right way of doing right things." In learning what the men of any age thought were right things and what they thought was the right way of doing them, we can learn more than a little about the period in which they lived. In the middle ages men thought that the right thing to do in art as in life was to glorify God. Furthermore, in their art forms as in their worship they bowed to the authority of the church and followed its teaching. Indeed, an early church council had decreed (A.D. 787) that "the composition of religious imagery is not left to the initiative of artists, but is formed upon principles laid down by the Catholic Church and by religious traditions."

The greatest of medieval arts, the art around which all others centered, was architecture. Medieval men were devoted enthusiasts in building, especially the building of monasteries, churches, and cathedrals. The arts of painting and sculpture were pressed into service to decorate and adorn the house of God. Other arts not so closely related to architecture were nonetheless stamped with its impress—the making of furniture and jewelry, carving, the designing of seals and even of dress. Medieval art passed through two main phases, an earlier one known as Romanesque and a later and more mature phase called Gothic. Romanesque is to art what Romance is to language; both were Roman in origin. This early phase of medieval art lasted from the revival of building in stone, after

the fall of Rome, to the middle of the twelfth century. Massiveness is the principal quality of Romanesque cathedrals. The walls are thick and the windows small. The arches are semicircular. The piers and columns are heavy, as they have to be to bear the weight imposed upon them. The interior is dark.

Gothic, the art of the "high middle ages," that is, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was of northern inspiration, the first independent triumph of European art since the fall of Rome. Its origin was in the north of France and its development paralleled the evolution both of the kingdom of France and of the literature of the *langue d'oïl*. The change from Romanesque to Gothic is one from grand massiveness to airy delicacy. The Romanesque church, it has been said, was designed from the base upward; the Gothic church, from the vault downward. We must understand clearly that Gothic is a development out of Romanesque, however. The ground plan perfected by Romanesque builders was taken over intact by their Gothic successors. Gothic represents a change of spirit rather than of form. From France Gothic spread to England, then a cultural annex of the north of France. Neither in Germany nor in Italy did Gothic ever make itself at home; Roman traditions were too strong.

Sculpture in the earliest churches consisted of scrollwork and carved foliage employed as decorative features; statues were taboo. This prejudice against the use of the human figure gradually weakened and then vanished altogether as thousands of figures were carved in relief or set in niches to adorn the exterior of the larger cathedrals. The earlier figures were architectural in quality, holding themselves stiff and straight; they were conventional in style, conforming to the precepts of the church. With the coming of Gothic art, however, sculptors became more realistic, turning to nature for their models. Within the limits imposed by architecture and ecclesiastical convention the sculptors developed their art with genius; they almost managed to suggest that their figures, enveloped in draperies and anchored to their cathedral base, were living human beings. The carving in stone of leaves, flowers, and fruits was especially free and untrammelled in the later middle ages. Those who think that medieval man took no interest in nature should study the capitals of Southwell cathedral in England. Here is found, carved with great fidelity and beauty, every kind of leaf that grows in Sherwood Forest, on the borders of which this church still stands. In sculpture especially, Gothic realism had half freed itself from medievalism before the end of the thirteenth century.

The contribution of the middle ages in painting was slight and of comparatively little merit. Figures were not correctly drawn; they were forced into conventional, unnatural attitudes, and they were assembled in balanced groups. Color was laid on lavishly but with little harmony.

Landscapes where drawn were without perspective. The pictorial art of the middle ages was at its best in mosaics and stained glass.

It was in the north, perhaps, that a new spirit in art first found expression. There was the true home of Gothic and of Gothic realism. There no overpowering tradition of classicism remained to dazzle, confuse, and restrain. The Flemish cities supplied the essential environment. Here were princes and prince-bishops, merchants and civic bodies, as eager to commission artists, in the later middle ages, as were their Italian counterparts to patronize scholars. The first artist to free himself "with tolerable completeness" from medieval restraints was the Flemish sculptor Claus Sluter. His patron was a younger son of the king of France, Philip, duke of Burgundy, who had acquired the county of Flanders by marriage in 1384. Sluter's earliest work dates from 1385. His masterpiece was a group of statues (1403) in the courtyard of the abbey of Champol near Dijon, the Burgundian capital. The figures of this group are not tied to an architectural base, and their draperies suggest ordinary clothing, not a stone casing. Among the figures was one of Christ on the Cross, of which only the head remains. There is not a trace of the medieval about it; it is simply the head of "a man who has met death bravely and in death found peace."

Flemish painting, also, made steady progress toward the free depiction of man and nature. This is seen in the miniatures with which the manuscripts of the period were embellished. Wealthy patrons were enabled to catch, in the books of devotion to which habit or convention bound them, glimpses of the world they dearly loved. Progress toward realism reached a decisive stage in the work of the two brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck (d. 1426, 1440). In their works we find expressed for the first time the idea that a painting should be a faithful representation of the real world. The princely and commercial aristocrats of Flanders were their patrons, and the brothers worked mainly in Ghent and Bruges. The portrait paintings of Jan van Eyck are especially famous; that of "John Arnolfini and His Wife," for example, is a masterpiece of truth and inspired observation. Other painters of the Flemish school only less famous than the Van Eycks were Roger van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, Dierick Bouts, Hans Memling, Gerard David, and Quentin Matsys. From Flanders the new style spread to France and Germany, and later on to other regions of northern and western Europe, each country gradually developing what may be called a national school.

Art in Italy

Italy yielded more slowly to the new spirit in art. The artistic prestige of Byzantium stifled innovation. Medieval art in Italy had become a

particularly stiff and formalized presentation of religious dogma in the Eastern fashion, and escape was difficult. Sculptors were the first to break the Byzantine bonds. The German emperor Frederick II had gathered at his court in Sicily a group of artists who went to antiquity for their inspiration, one of them modeling a statue of his patron directly after that of a Roman Caesar. Among these sculptors was Niccola Pisano, who later migrated to the north Italian city from which he takes his name. There he found Byzantine traditions still dominant. Under the influence of his Sicilian experience and training, however, Niccola made artistic history, in 1260, with his pulpit for the baptistery of Pisa. This he decorated with a series of statuettes imitated from those on Roman sarcophagi and scarcely distinguishable in character from the work of ancient sculptors.

Pisa and the neighboring cities of Tuscany were in close touch with the north in those days. Florentine and Siennese merchants and bankers had important connections with the fairs of Champagne and the industries of Flanders. The "capital" of the great international order of the Cistercians, with its many houses in Tuscany, was in the north of France. Gothic sculpture, then at its best, was well known in Pisa, and Niccola Pisano responded immediately to Gothic realism. In 1268 he decorated a pulpit in the cathedral of Siena with figures which faithfully reflected the spirit of the northern craftsmen. His son Giovanni Pisano, who had never worked in the south of Italy, was still more responsive to Gothic influence, and his sculptured figures on the façade of the cathedral of Siena are in the best traditions of Gothic realism.

Meanwhile Italian painting was developing along similar lines. The connection between the art of painting and the art of sculpture is close, and changes in the one are quickly reflected in the other. The earliest signs of the new spirit in painting were seen in Siena. Duccio di Buoninsegna, the first great painter of Siena, was a contemporary of Giovanni Pisano. His greatest work was a religious painting called the "Maesta," representing the Virgin and Child, saints and angels, and scenes from the life of Christ. This work, completed in 1311, was installed in the cathedral with great ceremony. Seven of its panels are now housed in as many different collections outside Siena and five others have been lost, but enough remains to justify its fame. While the framework of the various scenes is still Byzantine, the figures are no longer stiff and dehumanized but natural and lifelike. The buildings in the background are not "Oriental abstractions," but the buildings of Siena itself. Duccio was the first Italian painter to break the spell, and he was followed in Siena by a whole school of painters.

Greater than Duccio the Siennese was Giotto the Florentine (1266-1336), called the founder of Italian painting. He was the illustrator of the

life and works of St. Francis. In his many frescoes adorning the walls of the Franciscan churches of Florence, Assisi, and Padua, Giotto reveals himself as a supreme storyteller. It was the desire to tell his stories with full dramatic effect that led him to break with the conventions of medievalism. One of his great achievements was the creation of three-dimensional space, his murals giving a sense of reality previously unknown. Medieval in his outlook on life and attitude of mind, Giotto was modern in his methods.

Complete emancipation of Italian art came in sculpture first of all; the place was Florence and the year, 1401. A competition was held for the commission to design and cast the bronze door at the northern entrance of the baptistery. Among the seven great artists who submitted designs were Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Jacopo della Quercia. Ghiberti won, and he later cast the eastern door as well—"worthy to be the gate of Paradise," as Michelangelo put it. It cannot be said that Ghiberti's figures are either Gothic or antique; they are merely the free, unhampered expression of his genius, which is what all the moderns of the later middle ages aimed at, whatever their medium of expression. Ghiberti's love of nature and of the beautiful in nature is shown in the charming frieze of fruits, foliage, and animals on the door casings. "I have always sought for first principles," Ghiberti wrote, "as to how nature works in herself and how I may approach her." Della Quercia, an early rival of Ghiberti, later surpassed him. His noble sculptural figures on the portal of San Petronio at Bologna (1425-1438) were destined to awaken the slumbering genius of Michelangelo.

Full Tide of the Renaissance

The full tide of the Renaissance in the art of sculpture came with the work of Donatello (1386-1466). His principal works remain in his native city of Florence, in his day the center of Italian art. Donatello's bronze "David" was the first nude figure cast in bronze, and designed independently of an architectural setting, since ancient times. The most famous of his works, however, is his marble statue of "St. George," the face and figure of which express to the full the self-confidence and the restless energy of the Renaissance. At Padua is Donatello's statue of the Italian soldier of fortune, Gattamelata. This superb work, which portrays a powerful and spirited horse surmounted by a rider of great strength and majesty, was the first equestrian statue since the fall of Rome.

The greatest sculptor of the Renaissance, and indeed the greatest since the Greeks, was that many-sided genius Michelangelo (1475-1564). His early works show how strongly he was influenced by Donatello. Later, Michelangelo's genius expressed itself in a manner that is of no

period or school but that was native to himself. It is true that the influence of ancient art remains strong in such works as his "David" and the "Slaves." But Michelangelo's figures have a power of suggesting restrained movement and suppressed emotion that may be searched for elsewhere in vain. Perhaps no other sculptor ancient or modern has attained such anatomical perfection in the portrayal of the human body. In the hands of Michelangelo the human form, like a musical instrument, sounds forth the sombre music of his soul.

In painting, the new spirit finally found such full expression as to make it the greatest of all the arts of this period. Giotto's innovations were elaborated by his followers for a full century. Then came a genius whose work was revolutionary. Masaccio, a younger contemporary of Donatello in Florence, was born in 1401 and painted his masterpieces between the ages of twenty and twenty-six. These are frescoes illustrating stories of the Bible, painted on the walls of the Carmelite church in Florence. With the inspiration of genius Masaccio succeeded in painting things the way they look. He saw that in nature form and mass are not defined by lines but by color, light, and shadow. He saw also that distant objects not only seem smaller but less clearly defined. These are fundamental principles in painting. Masaccio's figures have individuality and personality. The broad effects which he achieved in representing naturalness were elaborated by his successors during the next half-century. There is space here for only the barest outline of this fascinating story; the merest mention can be made of the multitude of artists whose eager and strenuous activity have permanently enriched the world. Some studied perspective, others the use of light and shadow (*chiaroscuro*), still others the blending of colors. Fra Filippo Lippi (d. 1469) devoted himself to portraying the beauty to be found in common folk. Botticelli (d. 1510) so far escaped from medievalism as to illustrate classical themes popular among the highly cultured Florentines of his day. That the Italian artists were in love with life is shown by their delight in color and their fascination with form.

The great genius who summed up all the experiments into a complete whole and founded the grand style of Italian painting was Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). He has been called "the finest intelligence that ever applied itself to the painter's art." His "Last Supper," a fresco painted in 1498, now much damaged, is commonly considered one of the world's greatest paintings. Leonardo's subtlety in the use of light and shadow has never been equaled. His word to the imitators of Masaccio's naturalism was, "Choose the more gracious aspects of reality." Always experimenting, Leonardo has left us very little of his finished product; much of his work was only half finished, some of it barely begun.

The genius of Raphael (1483-1520), a younger contemporary, was confident and unquestioning. He produced a masterpiece at sixteen and was famous at twenty-one. During a short residence at Florence and a longer one at Rome, this handsome and brilliantly gifted young man was the favorite in turn of the Medici and of two successive popes. All the world knows his madonnas, half pagan, half Christian, wholly feminine and lovable. Later and more intellectual are the paintings which decorate the walls of four antechambers (*stanze*) of the Vatican Palace in Rome. In one of these rooms, the Camera della Segnatura, Raphael sums up the thought of his times on religion, law, philosophy, and the arts, "the props of a perfect society."

Michelangelo the supreme sculptor was also one of the greatest of painters; sculptor, painter, architect, poet, he was "four souls in one." He was already famous as a sculptor when he turned to painting. His masterpiece, a group of frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, was a work commissioned by Pope Julius II. Michelangelo labored at these frescoes four years under a constant strain of looking upwards that left his eyes distorted and his body temporarily crippled. The series tells the familiar story of the Creation, the Fall, and the Redemption of man. After a lapse of twenty-one years Michelangelo portrayed the Last Judgment on the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel, a seven-year task. As a painter Michelangelo was still a sculptor, employing the human figure to express his moods, not infrequently doubtful, pessimistic, even bitter.

Florence was long the center of the Renaissance. Toward the close of the fifteenth century, however, Rome displaced her. This was due in part to the beginning of the wars between France and Spain and in part to the intelligent patronage of the two great Renaissance popes, Julius II (1503-1513) and Leo X (1513-1521). Still later Venice became, in painting at least, the premier city of the peninsula. Indeed, the contribution of the Venetian school to Italian painting is a most important one. The painting of Venice is more sensual, less intellectual, than that of Florence. The Venetians loved life in all its richness; they delighted in color. As sheer painters they were the best in Italy. Two brothers, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini (d. 1507, 1516), first brought fame to Venice. The older brother was summoned to Constantinople to paint a portrait of Mohammed II, its conqueror. The chief glory of Venetian painting was Titian (c. 1479-1576), whose long life was a series of ever greater accomplishments. His works show the highest technical skill combined with strong though controlled feeling. His portraits are especially notable for their psychological insight—"dramas in one act" they have been called. Tintoretto (1518-1594) was the last of the great painters of Venice and of Italy. Spectacular and grandiose, his works indicate that Italian painting had passed its

best period. It is related that when this intrepid painter was a youth, Titian drove him from his studio.

Renaissance Architecture

In the architectural history of the later middle ages the Italians were first and foremost. In no aspect of its culture had Italy experienced greater variety than in architecture. Byzantine, Norman, Saracen, Lombard, even Gothic schools, had each had a following in various parts of the peninsula. Some of the most famous buildings in Italy date from the period before the Renaissance. Among these are the Byzantine cathedral of St. Mark (Venice), the Gothic duomo of Milan, the Romanesque cathedral and the Leaning Tower of Pisa, and the Gothic bell tower of Florence. For a thousand years, however, no Italian architect had thought of imitating the Roman buildings whose ruins were so plainly to be seen on every hand. Medieval builders were more prone to use Roman ruins as quarries than as models.

The revival of classical culture engendered a revival of classical architecture. Architects became archaeologists and studied ruined arches and broken columns with passionate eagerness. They began by borrowing decorative designs. In Florence, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the wealthy nobles were busily building palatial homes. Palaces were fortresses as well as places of residence in those days. Inspired by their love of classical models, the architects of Florence began to refine the rugged buildings. Dressed stone was used in the upper stories, the windows were enlarged and made more decorative, and cornices were added. In the interiors the architects gave free play to their love of the antique. Rows of columns and pilasters were introduced, with capitals of the classical orders. The beginnings of Renaissance architecture can best be seen in the Florentine palaces of the fifteenth century.

Renaissance architecture produced more secular buildings than churches, but even the churches seem to have been built for the use and delight of man here and now. It is clear that the artists were highly pleased with themselves and with their work. Details of decoration fascinated them. Significantly, most of the early architects began as sculptors.

A recent critic has said that Renaissance architecture is disappointing; its spark of genius was smothered and extinguished by the classical revival. The sculptors, who had few antique models to work with, did better work than architects, he avers, and the painters, who had no classical models at all, produced the greatest of the masterpieces of the Renaissance. There is some truth in this. Many Renaissance architects confessed themselves to be slavish imitators, conscientious copiers, of

classical models. In decorative designs, especially, there was much of exact reproduction but the criticism is too severe. Renaissance architecture was a fresh expression of inventive genius in spite of the fact that it was classical in spirit, as is seen in its emphasis upon symmetry and proportion, its refinement of design, and its avoidance of the exaggerated and the bizarre.

We have space here for mention of but two or three of the many architects of genius. The first of these is Brunelleschi (1377-1446). Defeated in the famous competition of the bronze doors, the young sculptor left for Rome, where he plunged into the study of Roman remains. He returned to Florence in 1403, and this year is commonly accepted as the birth year of Renaissance architecture. Brunelleschi's greatest achievement was the rearing of the dome of the cathedral of Florence, a task that had baffled architects for half a century. More completely expressive of his art, however, is the little chapel he built for the Pazzi family in the cloisters of the church of Santa Croce. This is the first structure to be built in Italy which was completely and consistently Renaissance throughout. No little of its attractiveness derives from the sculptures of Donatello and della Robbia which adorn it. Brunelleschi also submitted designs for the new palace which Cosimo de' Medici was planning to erect and in which he proposed to house his library of manuscripts and his other classical treasures. He was not successful, for the wealthy and cultivated Florentine preferred the designs of a rival.

Next to Brunelleschi in his influence upon the development of architecture in the fifteenth century was Alberti (1404-1472). The Rucellai palace, which he built about 1450, has in it none but Roman elements. Alberti shaped architectural growth not so much through his buildings, however, as through his writings. He wrote, in all, ten books on the art of building. After Alberti the architectural center of Italy was transferred from Florence to Rome. This was a result chiefly of the work of the great architect Bramante (1444-1514). Beginning his artistic career as a painter, Bramante turned to architecture and won a reputation in Milan. Going to Rome, he was engaged by Pope Julius II (1503-1513) as the architect for the new St. Peter's. Bramante's design was, in his own view, strictly classical. "I want to raise the Roman Pantheon on the vaults of the Temple of Peace," he said. Actually he designed a building such as the Romans had never built and indeed could never have built. Bramante died a few years after the first stone was laid, but he had lived long enough to make sure that a large part of his plan would be carried out. Even in its lessened form St. Peter's has proved to be one of the world's greatest monuments. Raphael succeeded Bramante as its architect, but perhaps fortunately both for him and for St. Peter's, times were hard and the

project stood still. Then came the turn of Michelangelo and he, adopting Bramantè's design, erected the dome, St. Peter's best feature.

Northern Art

In the north of Europe the new art had made an early and important beginning, but Italy soon became a greater artistic center than Flanders. Indeed, the northern artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were overawed by the glories of Italian art, and a long line of distinguished painters and sculptors of Flanders and France during the sixteenth century were imitative rather than original. French worship of Italian culture owed not a little to the leadership of the kings of France, who not only brought back from Italy paintings, statues, and *objets d'art* in general, but also prevailed upon Italian artists to forsake their native cities and follow the French court northward. The greatest of these expatriates was Leonardo da Vinci, who died in 1519 at Amboise. Another was the liar and braggart Benvenuto Cellini, the greatest goldsmith of his age and producer of at least one masterpiece of sculpture, the bronze "Perseus." French architecture became definitely Italianate in the sixteenth century. Here, however, the French national spirit remained assertive; the French had long shown creative skill in architecture. The typical product of French architecture in the new age was a palace, not a cathedral. Charles VIII built at Amboise the palace in which Leonardo died. The French nobility caught the fever, and palace after palace began to take form. The Loire valley became especially famous for its Renaissance palaces, that of Blois being perhaps the best of all. In the last year of his reign Francis I began building what was destined to become, after some centuries of elaboration, the largest and most famous palace in Europe, the Louvre.

Art in Germany during this period was limited in output and of a second order of merit. It owed something to Flemish influence, more to Italian, but most of all to the native ability of a few great artists. Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) would have been the equal of the Italians had he been born in Italy. He was a thinker as well as a painter, a friend of German humanists. His fame today rests upon his engravings, which have never been surpassed. Hans Holbein (1497-1543), like Dürer, owed something to the Flemings but he had visited Italy. His portraits are among the best produced anywhere in Europe. Those of Erasmus are especially familiar. Holbein lived in England for a time, and there painted his well-known portraits of Henry VIII and several of his queens. England could boast of no painter or sculptor of its own at this period, and even in its architecture was still working along medieval lines,

ignoring the Renaissance. Spanish art owed something to the Italians in its beginnings but more to its own environment. Its development and its influence on Europe will be dealt with later.

Beginnings of National Literatures

It is significant that European literature in the vernacular first appeared in lands farthest from Rome. Anglo-Saxon England, Germany, and Scandinavia were a long way from Rome, culturally as well as physically. Few wrote in Latin in those lands in the earlier medieval centuries because Latin had few readers. Literature in the Teutonic countries, therefore, began in the vernacular. Its first appearance was in the seventh century. It was many centuries before a native literature appeared in France or Christian Spain, where writers in the vernacular had to compete with Latin. Finally, but not until the thirteenth century was well advanced, a native literature in Italian challenged the supremacy of Latin in its last stronghold. At no time did these beginnings of modern literature greatly concern contemporary scholars and men of letters, who nearly all continued to use Latin for literary purposes. Yet the laity, no less than the clergy, had ideas and emotions to express, and it was inevitable that they should find means for the expression of their thoughts and an outlet for their imagination in their native tongues.

Religious feeling, war, adventure, travel, and love were the main themes of this literature of the laity. Poetry was the usual form of expression, and many rhymed verse forms were employed. Poets in various countries and through successive centuries worked over standard themes, employing the same sets of characters and the same incidents to produce the famous romance cycles, Carolingian, Arthurian, and Classical. Transmitted orally at first, these cycles were later written down, but circulation of the expensively produced manuscripts was necessarily limited. Throughout the middle ages a multiplicity of dialects persisted. The masterpiece of medieval literature in the vernacular was of course the *Divine Comedy* of Dante (1265-1321). This great epic sums up the fundamental ideas of the middle ages; indeed, it is the highest and the most complete expression of medieval life.

The revolution in learning had marked effects—not always fortunate—on the new literatures. The humanists had a strong bias against all things medieval, including the crude speech of medieval people. Latin and Greek were regarded as the languages of culture. Petrarch lavished his time and energy on achieving a polished Latin style. He wrote love sonnets in his native tongue but accounted them of no value in comparison with his classical writings, though the present age has challenged this opinion.

Erasmus wrote all his treatises in Latin or Greek. Sir Thomas More, though a layman and writing on a theme so modern that all of its author's hopes have not yet been realized, wrote his *Utopia* in Latin. On the other hand, the influences working for the swift development in the native literatures were strong. Of these the most important, obviously, was not the new learning but the invention of printing. Printing made possible for the first time popular participation in the enjoyment of literature. The first book printed in England (by William Caxton, 1477) was in the English language. Printing also was a great factor in reducing the number of dialects in a given country, a necessary stage in the evolution of a single national tongue. To this standardization the humanists contributed substantially. Recovering in time from their infatuation with Latin and Greek, they began to apply their critical methods to the vernacular tongues, producing dictionaries and grammars of individual languages and comparative studies of various languages. The first great product of the new science of philology was a treatise by the Swiss humanist Konrad von Gesner published in 1553, in which the author displayed his familiarity with over one hundred languages, and printed the Lord's Prayer in twenty-two of them.

Characteristics of the New Literature

The classical revival supplied writers in the vernacular with an abundance of themes. In the literary masterpieces of the sixteenth century—epics and dramas, for the most part—the characters, the scenes, the plots, and even the forms are frequently classical. Shakespeare's indebtedness to the classical world is too familiar to require illustration. Edmund Spenser (c. 1552–1599) was more truly a child of the Renaissance than was the many-sided Shakespeare. Italian poets responded to the classical stimulus still earlier. Ariosto (1474–1533), following classical forms, produced the famous romantic epic *Orlando Furioso*, a work written for pure enjoyment, which “sensed better the interests of Italy in its day than Machiavelli's statecraft or Savonarola's sermons.” Tasso (1544–1595) wrote *Jerusalem Delivered*, a Christian Iliad, as he called it, on the theme of the crusades. A lesser epic, though the greatest of its own land, was the *Lusiad* of Luís de Camoëns (1524–1580). Here the national poet of Portugal celebrated the heroic deeds of his countrymen in the Indian Ocean, where the writer himself had fought.

One of the more obvious features of the national literatures of the sixteenth century was a delight in all sides of life. The asceticism of the middle ages had given way to a new and healthy freedom. A typical exponent of this phase of literature was the French writer Rabelais (c. 1495–1553). A renegade monk, he enjoyed such fame and favor as humanist and satirist

that no less a personage than King Francis I stood between him and the penalties of the church. He wrote an entertaining book based on a local legend of a giant named Gargantua, and followed this by an entirely original story in four volumes of *Pantagruel*, the giant's son. The obscenity of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, however characteristic of the century, repels the modern reader, but this element is incidental. The advice of Rabelais to the men of his time was to make the most of the world about them. "Eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we live" was his motto. Another example of even more unrestrained delight in the things of this world is the *Memoirs* of Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571). Cellini's life, with its many amours and a few homicides, must have been exciting enough without the fanciful embellishments with which the writer decks it out. Cervantes (1547-1616) wrote a merry travesty on the romances of medieval chivalry in *Don Quixote* (see p. 122), which reveals the same love of life that is seen in Rabelais.

The irreligion of some writers was outweighed by a deep sense of religious compulsion which animated many others. Luther's translation of the Bible into German and his three controversial treatises hold a high place in the history of the German language and literature. Luther did much to make the New High German dialect of his writings the national speech of the Germans. His hymns, written in German and translated into other languages, were sung by millions in their own tongue. The *Book of Common Prayer* (1552) of Archbishop Cranmer marks an important stage in the evolution of English literature. The translation of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola were the two most important books of the Reformation in France and Spain respectively, and they have considerable merit as literature as well. The contemporary controversy over religion was waged through rival printing presses as well as by fire and sword, and one authority estimates that nearly a million volumes appeared in Germany in every year of the sixteenth century.

Finally, we should note the very considerable literature inspired by national patriotism and, in turn, contributing to it. Machiavelli wrote his *History of Florence* to throw light on the past of his native city, and *The Prince* as a guide for those who might rule its future. Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) wrote a *History of Italy* which is notable for its objectivity, but marred by a pessimism which under the circumstances was natural enough. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), "the Herodotus of Art," sought to immortalize the painters, sculptors, and architects of his native land in his *Lives of Italian Artists*. As it happened, they did not need his help. The Frenchman Jean Bodin (1530-1596) wrote a treatise on government still valued as a contribution to the history of European thought. His

conclusion that the absolutists were right was doubtless influenced by his thought of what was best for France, then in the throes of civil war.

For England well-nigh the whole of the sixteenth century was a time of national danger, culminating in the long war with Spain. The patriotic pride of Englishmen, their exuberant self-confidence, helped to make the Elizabethan age the greatest in the annals of English literature. The queen, as symbol of England, was the object of the lavish adoration of Spenser, Jonson, and many others. The adventures of the English seamen, discoverers and explorers of the unimagined wonders of the New World, were collected and preserved by Richard Hakluyt (d. 1616) and by Samuel Purchas (d. 1626) in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages . . . and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over Land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth*. The patriotic fervor of the English reached its most complete expression in the work of William Shakespeare. The ever recurrent theme which has made of his *Richard II* a national epic attained a climax of poetic expression in the following passage:

This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise;
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war;
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

Science

Of all the fields of knowledge cultivated by the ancients, science was the last to be re-entered by medieval man. Men were taught by the church to strive first of all to attain salvation, and were told that it might be best to close their eyes to the world about them. In this matter, if in little else, the Greek church agreed with the Roman. After Justinian closed the schools of Athens in 529, Greek science expired. In the West, nature remained something of a forbidden book for centuries. The Carolingian Renaissance, of first-rate importance in the field of education, did not bring a new attitude toward nature. There was no real change until the twelfth century.

Meanwhile exiled Greek scholars had made their way to Persia, where they found a welcome at the court of Chosroes I. Persian scholars, grounded in their own scientific learning, chiefly mathematical and as-

tronomical, assimilated the treasures of Greek knowledge. They became familiar also with Hindu science, especially in the field of mathematics, when scholars were drawn to the Persian capital from India. The Persian capital became an intellectual center greater than any in the West. With the conquest of Persia by the Moslems, the whole heritage of Greek, Persian, and Hindu science passed to the Arabs. Bagdad was now the seat of a scientific renaissance in the East, and treatises and translations of the Bagdad scientists were disseminated throughout the Moslem world, the Arabic tongue becoming the language of scholarship. Palermo, in Sicily, and Granada, Toledo, Seville, and Cordova, in Spain, thus came to be important centers for the teaching and the study of science. Translation into Latin followed, much of the work of translating being done by educated Jews resident in Spain who sought a European market for their writings. Thus did Greek science, the door at Constantinople being closed, find its way slowly to the Christian West through Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain.

Let us review the little that medieval man knew about science. In mathematics a really important advance over ancient times was made with the introduction of a new system of notation, the Arabic numerals, the alphabet of modern arithmetic. Algebra, developed by the Arabs as far as quadratics and given its name, was familiar to scholars. To the Greek geometry of Euclid had been added plane and spherical trigonometry. Of astronomy the men of the middle ages had a respectable knowledge. They could calculate latitude and longitude and make use of the sextant; they prepared tables showing the movements of the stars; they attempted to foretell eclipses and work out the precession of the equinoxes. The necessity for a further correction in the calendar was understood. No scientific scholar of the middle ages believed that the earth was flat.

In the field of medicine the knowledge of medieval man was small, but he made considerable use of it in practice. The works of Galen the Greek were recovered entire through translations from the Arabic. The Arabs themselves had used Galen extensively and had established a school of medicine at Salerno. The original contributions of the Arabs were in the field of medical herbs and drugs; the whole of the pharmacopoeia as we now have it, excepting chemical compounds, thus came into the possession of medieval Europe. To the sum total of this Greek-Arab knowledge medieval physicians made practically no contribution. Nor is this surprising. Human anatomy, the foundation of all medical knowledge, was closed to research by clerical prohibition. The only anatomy known to the middle ages was that which was learned from poor copies of Greek portrayals.

In public health much advance was made, especially in the larger

cities. Milan in the thirteenth century had two hundred physicians, some of them employed by the city itself to minister to the poor. Hospitals were numerous; in fact, many of the hospitals of Europe today are of medieval foundation. In the treatment of contagious diseases medieval authorities were more modern than those of any succeeding age except the most recent. Their treatment was segregation. Plague, tuberculosis, leprosy, anthrax, and other diseases were recognized as such and isolated. Quarantine (*quarantena*, forty days) was first instituted at Venice in the fourteenth century. Finally, and it is a fact that merits undying gratitude, leprosy was stamped out in Europe.

We have noted in many fields the new spirit in life, the secular, inquiring, self-reliant spirit of modern times. It would be natural to expect that in science swift progress would come and epochal changes take place. Progress was made, but it was neither great nor rapid. Most of the best minds of the Renaissance were interested in art and literature rather than in science. Humanism was not a scientific movement. Moreover, religious upheavals soon brought in their train a revival of intolerance which hampered the work of scientists.

Medicine

In medical knowledge advance came first in anatomy, an obvious field of inquiry. So far as medieval scholars were concerned, Hippocrates and Galen had described the human body once and for all. Their works, incomplete and full of errors, enjoyed a wider authority than ever when printed by the Aldine press in 1525. It was easier for some sixteenth-century scholars to ignore the prohibitions of the church than to doubt the Greeks. The first great anatomist of modern times is Vesalius (1514-1564), a Fleming who became professor of surgery in the University of Padua and the medical adviser, in turn, of Charles V and Philip II. Vesalius preferred his own eyesight to the observations of the Greeks, whose anatomical errors he repeatedly demonstrated. In 1543 he summed up the anatomical knowledge of his age in a book called *De corporis humani fabrica*. Two Italian contemporaries, Fallopio and Eustachio, made discoveries of parts of the body which still bear their names, and a Spaniard, Servetus, announced that the blood circulates through the lungs. Both Fallopio and Eustachio thought Vesalius had gone too far in doubting the Greeks. This was also true of the Frenchman Rondolet, who built at Montpellier, in 1556, the first amphitheater of anatomy. Paracelsus (c. 1493-1541), a popular Swiss physician who dabbled in chemistry, repudiated the study of anatomy altogether and still looked to the stars for help in the treatment of disease. At the close of the sixteenth century,

then, anatomy had scarcely escaped from Galen. The authorities still frowned upon dissection, and for a long time to come medical students felt obliged to resort to body snatching. In the study of the functions of the body, or physiology, little advance was made; there, too, Galen was a stumbling block.

Astronomy

An important first step was taken in astronomy. The medieval view of the universe was a mixture of Christian theology and Aristotelian astronomy. A sharp distinction was made between things terrestrial and things celestial. Earth was heavy, gross, and imperfect. The heavens, an enclosing sphere in which were imbedded, as it were, the sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars, were superior in quality, of a different order of creation in which all was perfection. The earth stood still, furthermore, while the enclosing celestial sphere turned about, completing a revolution once in every twenty-four hours. To be sure, some of the heavenly bodies, the moon and the planets, pursue varying courses of their own which are apparent to the casual observer; the sun does not always rise and set at the same point on the horizon. The best explanation of these special movements within the one great motion was that offered as early as the second century by Ptolemy, who had devised an ingenious hypothesis of secondary circles (epicycles) geared to a primary circle.

The new navigation stimulated astronomical research, and the printing press made astronomical knowledge available to an increased number of scholars. The German Johann Müller (1436-1476) corrected the astronomical tables of the time, a wealthy merchant having built an observatory for him. It should be borne in mind, of course, that the telescope had not been invented. Then came the contribution of Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543), a native of Poland. Having studied medicine at Cracow and Vienna, Copernicus made his way to the universities of Italy, where he turned to the study of mathematics and astronomy. Returning to Poland, he examined the prevailing theory of an earth-centered universe with the aid of mathematics and in the light of observed phenomena. In his reading of classical authors, he had been struck by the theory of the Pythagorean philosophers that the motions of the heavenly bodies are more easily understood if we suppose that the earth rotates on its own axis and follows an orbit around the sun. Copernicus then began a slow accumulation of data, more mathematical than observational, in support of the Pythagorean or heliocentric view. He did not reject the medieval cosmology as a whole, but it seemed to him that the Ptolemaic view was too complicated and irrational. He took it for granted, furthermore, that the orbit of the earth, as of all heavenly bodies, was a perfect circle.

Copernicus worked at his book all his life, half afraid to publish such a revolutionary thesis. Finally, as he lay dying, the first copies of his work were brought to him (*De revolutionibus orbium*, 1543). The pope pronounced the heliocentric theory "false and altogether opposed to Holy Scripture," and Luther called Copernicus a fool and pointed out that Joshua had commanded the sun, not the earth, to stand still. The few men of science who were interested found the too exclusively mathematical and theoretical data of Copernicus a disappointment. The special effect of the book was to emphasize the need for observational data.

This need was supplied to some degree by Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), a Dane of noble birth. Travel and study in Germany first awakened his interest in astronomy, and shortly after his return to Denmark he observed a new star, which he was convinced after careful observation was more distant than the moon and which, moreover, did not share in the motions of the planets. Shortly thereafter he received from the king the gift of an island, with ample funds for the construction and maintenance thereon of an astronomical observatory. There Tycho Brahe assembled the best instruments Europe afforded and for more than twenty years carried on a series of observations which added immensely to the body of astronomical data. He determined with a high degree of exactness the position of 777 fixed stars and estimated the length of the year to within one second. However, he never accepted the Copernican theory, but held that while five of the planets revolve about the sun, the latter with its accompanying cortege moves in a circle around the earth.

A beneficial by-product of the new astronomy was calendar reform. The Julian calendar, under which men had lived for more than sixteen centuries, had provided for a 365-day year with an additional day in February once in four years. This calendar (47 B.C.), itself eliminating an error which had accumulated a deficit of eighty-five days, overshot the mark by the merest trifle, but in sixteen hundred years an error of ten days had been built up. In 1582, under the auspices of the papacy, the days from October 5 to 15 were dropped and, for the future, the number of leap years was slightly reduced. At that particular time Protestant countries were not accepting papal leadership of any kind, and it was long before the Gregorian calendar was introduced in England and Germany. It is only recently that Russia has fallen into line.

Geography

We have seen that the age of discoveries was accompanied by the development of the science of geography. To represent the world graphically on a flat surface was comparatively simple when the known part of it

was small. New discoveries and explorations produced a body of geographical knowledge with which mapmakers struggled unsuccessfully for half a century. Copernicus turned his mind to the problem and is credited with having evolved the first simple formula of spherical trigonometry. Another mathematician solved the mapmaking problem in a way which became famous. Gerhard Kremer (1512-1594) was a Fleming resident in Louvain, where he spent his life making maps, globes, and astronomical instruments. Adopting the Latin name of Mercator, he published in 1569 a map of the world on a new plan. His method was to project the spherical surface of the earth onto a cylinder tangent to the earth at the equator and with an axis equal to that of the earth. Lines of latitude are parallel to each other, therefore; and lines of longitude, also parallel to each other, are perpendicular to the lines of latitude. Portions of the earth's surface remote from the equator, thrown out of proportion, appear larger than they are, and to this circumstance is due our exaggerated notion of the size of Greenland. Mercator's Projection, however, has been and still remains of especial value to navigators, since a ship or plane keeping a constant course traces a straight line on the map.

On the whole, the scientific achievements of the sixteenth century were only a narrow path through a wilderness of ignorance and superstition. Most men still believed that gold could be derived from baser metals, that there existed somewhere a fountain of perpetual youth, that the stars controlled the actions of men, and above all that the Devil had a personal existence and under many forms led a very active life. The scientists themselves were not sure of their way; their works abound in references to the occult. Indeed, there was a definite increase in one phase of superstition, namely, sorcery and witchcraft. The Bible-reading habit of the Protestants may help to explain the witchcraft terror in northern Europe, especially prevalent in Sweden and Scotland. ("Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.") Belief in sorcery was universal. Scarcely a state trial during the sixteenth century failed to reveal it as one of the important counts in the accusation against the defendant. Many an Italian ruler kept an official sorcerer in his pay along with an official astrologer and poisoner. Charlatans took quick advantage of the general belief in mysterious powers; they stood ready, for a substantial fee, to destroy anyone's enemy by making a waxen image and melting it over a slow fire. Scarcely a government in Europe failed to promulgate laws in repression of witches. A ferocious statute enacted in England in 1541, for example, was re-enacted with still more ferocious penalties in 1603. Old women were favorite victims, and children, out of spite or simple exhibitionism, were the commonest accusers. Torture was the universal technique for eliciting infor-

mation or receiving a confession. Kepler's mother was formally accused and examined under threat of torture. The great scholar was able to secure her release, but she died a few months later. It is estimated that in Europe as a whole a quarter of a million persons were put to death as witches before the craze finally died out in the eighteenth century. Many of these persons were the innocent victims of private enmity, spite, or plain mischief. Many more were probably suffering from a mild attack of insanity in an age when mental diseases were not recognized as such.

CHAPTER IV

The Reformation and the Founding of State Churches

ONE OF THE most striking phenomena of the sixteenth century was the establishment of state churches. In England, Scotland, the Netherlands, the states of northern and central Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, churches were organized which looked to the secular government both as the source of their authority, humanly speaking, and for financial support. In some of these states the national church was little more than a department of the government and the clergy were public officials. Obviously the establishment of a state church would be an important contribution to the authority of the monarchy concerned. It could also be a powerful factor in the achievement of national unity. Needless to say, there was as yet no freedom of religion under the new regimes. It had hardly occurred to anyone that there could be more than one church at a time. The establishment of national churches, however, was evidence of widespread revolt against the authority of the Roman church, a revolt that was not confined to the countries in which full success was finally achieved.

The Medieval Church

It is only with an effort that we can picture today the religious situation in the middle ages, and yet the medieval system was simplicity itself. In Russia, it is true, there were a few million Christians who adhered to the Greek, or Orthodox, church, and in the Balkans a ruling class of Moslem conquerors had established itself, though the subject peoples remained attached to the Greek church; but central and western Europe was the domain of the Catholic Church. No other church was tolerated, or indeed dreamed of. In those days one was born into the church almost as literally as one becomes a member by birth of a state at the present time.

The salvation of souls was the great business of the church and an essential means to that end was a system of sacraments. These are defined as "outward signs instituted by Christ to give grace," and, again, as "visible forms of invisible grace." Individually the sacraments have a long

history, going back to the earliest days of Christianity. Limitation to the sacred number of seven came in the twelfth century, and this limitation was generally recognized throughout the middle ages, though the first official declaration on the subject came in 1439. In baptism the taint of original sin was washed away in the pouring of water. A white cloth was placed upon the head of the baptized person as a symbol of purity. He was given a candle to hold ("Ye are the light of the world"), and a few grains of salt were put in his mouth ("Ye are the salt of the earth"). The baptized person was also given a Christian name—whence our word "christening." For an adult and a pagan, baptism would involve dropping the pagan name; infant baptism became the practice of the church very early, however. Confirmation normally took place during adolescence and was usually performed by a bishop. By this sacrament the young person was strengthened by divine grace to resist evil. Penance was for sin committed after baptism. A priest had power through this sacrament to absolve penitents of their sins.

An essential element of penance was contrition, a turning of the heart away from its sin, a feeling of compunction and a sense of shame. Another element was oral confession to a priest. At the Vatican Council of 1215 Pope Innocent III directed that every person should confess once a year to his own priest; failure to comply with this requirement might entail exclusion from church or refusal of Christian burial. A third element of penance was satisfaction, by which the penitent made good the wrong he had done in whatever way his confessor deemed best. Prayers, visitation of churches, fasting, and almsgiving might be required of him. Regular schedules were drawn up for the guidance of confessors, in the course of time, in which all the usual sins were listed and a schedule of "good works" was appended.

Most important of the sacraments was the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper. The full teaching of the church regarding the Eucharist was set forth at the Council of 1215. The dogma of "the real presence of the incarnate Christ by the process of transubstantiation" was there affirmed. At the prayer of the priest, the bread and wine were miraculously transformed into Christ's Body and Blood. The elevation of the Host, which was then signalized by the ringing of a bell, constituted the most dramatic part of the ceremony of the Mass. To all outward seeming the bread and wine remained as they were; but following a distinction drawn by Aristotle, men drew a line between the "accidents" of a thing—that is, its taste, touch, color—and its "substance." The substance might be altered while the accidents remained as before. Partaking of the Eucharist endued the recipient with divine grace, whereby his soul was nourished and fortified. The church taught that "Christ was present entire in both bread and

wine." Consequently it came to be customary to offer the laity bread alone, owing in part to the danger of spilling the wine.

Not only did the priest celebrate the Eucharist for the benefit of those assembled in the church or chapel; he might also do so for the remission of the sins of some particular person or for the benefit of the soul of a person deceased. For such a service the priest received compensation from the person benefited or, in the case of the dead, from some interested friend or relative. It became quite customary to leave by will a sum sufficient to pay for the celebration of a certain number of Masses for the repose of one's soul. Thousands of priests drew their entire support from such stipends.

A fifth sacrament, and the last in which all men might participate, was extreme unction. This was administered to anyone in peril of death and consisted of an anointing with oil that had been blessed. When possible, extreme unction was accompanied by the partaking of a consecrated wafer, or viaticum, in a last Communion.

Marriage was deemed a sacrament, and a religious ceremony was compulsory. Marriage within certain degrees of relationship was strictly forbidden. Divorce was not allowed. A marriage was sometimes annulled by an ecclesiastical court, but this was only when the court, upon inquiry, was convinced that some element in the sacrament had not been present and that the marriage had never been valid. In all these respects the attitude of the church in the earlier centuries had been by no means so uncompromising as it later became.

Finally, there was the sacrament of ordination, through which a man became a priest, with power to offer the sacrifice of the Mass and absolve penitents of their sins. The first rite of ordination was the tonsure, in which a spot was smoothly shaved on the top of the candidate's head. This signified that he had been admitted to the clerical order. Then followed rites by which he was admitted to the several minor orders, such as those of lector, or reader, and acolyte, or assistant at the altar. The holy orders of subdeacon, deacon, and priest followed with rites of increasing solemnity, concluding with the bishop's laying his hands on the candidate's head and saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit. Whose sins ye remit are remitted; whose sins ye retain are retained."

Founded by Christ and designated by Him as the sole channel of divine grace, the church lay under the heavy compulsion of giving access to the sacraments and other means of grace to all men, women, and children. It accepted this obligation and redeemed it in full, building up in the course of the medieval centuries the most extensive, the most elaborate, and upon the whole the most successful organization the world has ever seen.

Ecclesiastical Organization

The smallest subdivision of the church was the parish. Since medieval society, predominantly rural, was made up of the social and economic unit known as the village, the parish was usually coterminous with it. The parish church was the center of village life, and the churchyard was the abode of the village dead. The maintenance of the parish priest was a charge upon the village. He had a legal right to a tithe of the grain, cattle, eggs, milk, and other produce of the farming community; the right to exact fees for baptism, marriage, and burial services; and a right to the income from any lands or goods with which the church might be or become endowed. This revenue had early excited the cupidity of the landlord class, however, and all over Europe the right of appointment of parish priests passed into the hands of that class. This right was abused, with the result that the spiritual needs of the people were often neglected.

Parishes were grouped into dioceses, each with a bishop at its head. A diocese was usually the territory centering round a city of importance, and there the bishop had his seat (*sedes*, whence "see"). By tradition a bishop was elected by the clergy and people of his diocese, the election thus testifying to the close relationship between the bishop and his people, the shepherd and his flock. Early in the middle ages, however, the people ceased to have any direct share in the election of their bishop, and the clergy came to control the election, more especially the clergy associated with the cathedral of the diocese. Finally Boniface VIII declared in the bull *Ausculat filii* (1301) that the right of appointment to all vacant sees belonged to the pope alone, the chapters having power to nominate only. Thus was a very great step taken toward establishing the absolute monarchy of the papacy.

A number of dioceses made up a province, at the head of which was an archbishop who was invested with a certain amount of authority over his fellow bishops. In each country of western Europe one archbishop, usually the one whose episcopal foundation was the oldest, was called the primate. The archbishops of Rheims, in France, of Mainz, in Germany, of Toledo, in Spain, and of Canterbury, in England, were so designated. At the head of the whole Catholic Church stood the bishop of Rome. It was an accepted tradition that St. Peter, divinely commissioned to found the Catholic Church, had been the first bishop of Rome, and that all later bishops of the Eternal City were therefore in the line of apostolic succession. Pope was the popular name of the bishop of Rome. Vicar of Christ was a title claimed by the popes themselves, a title which embodies a Roman concept of authority well stated in the famous bull *unam sanctam*,

issued by Boniface VIII in 1302: "We declare, say, and define, that it is wholly necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

To administer such a far-flung empire as the Catholic Church had become, and to enforce the pope's manifold authority within it, the services of a large staff of experts were required. Secretarial, financial, judicial, and administrative functions were performed by various branches of the papal household. The best known of the papal officials, perhaps, were the cardinals. Originally the actual and active heads of certain churches in Rome, the cardinals were now charged, individually, with administrative duties in Rome or elsewhere, and they were recruited by papal appointment from among the outstanding churchmen of Europe. A function of the highest importance which the cardinals collectively performed was the election of the popes. Taking over the government of the church for the time being at the death of a pope, the cardinals proceeded to meet in conclave; that is, to lock themselves up together. A two-thirds majority was necessary for election.

At the height of the middle ages the papal revenue exceeded that of all the monarchies of Europe put together. Some revenue was derived from the papal estates scattered throughout the Italian peninsula and, indeed, throughout western Europe. More important were the revenues derived from the individual members of the church. These varied greatly from age to age both in form and in amount. In the later middle ages the principal sources were Peter's pence, a tax paid by all Christian householders; annates, or the whole of the first year's revenue of a newly appointed bishop; the proceeds of justice as dispensed in the hierarchy of ecclesiastical courts established throughout Catholic Europe; and the gifts and offerings of the pilgrims who wended their way to Rome from all parts of the West.

The Clergy

Priests and bishops discharged their duties and lived their lives in the work-a-day world and hence were known as the "secular" clergy. Another important body of clergy, who withdrew from the world, in some measure, to enable themselves the better to imitate the life of Christ and who lived according to rule, were called the "regular" clergy. This group included the numerous orders of monks and nuns and totaled more than half a million persons in the later middle ages, a greater number than in any previous age.

Many of the clergy devoted their lives to professional pursuits outside the church. This was inevitable in a period when the clergy was the only educated class; it was a rare thing, until late in the middle ages, for a lay-

man to be able to sign his own name. The whole body of civil servants in the administrative departments of the European monarchies, the whole diplomatic service, the secretaries, bookkeepers, and accountants of the nobility, the whole lawyer class, all teachers, the entire body of students, and many other sorts and conditions of men were of the clerical order. It has been pointed out that when Luther first raised the standard of revolt, practically every prime minister in Europe was a high ecclesiastical dignitary.

Not only did many of the clergy engage in secular activities, but the Catholic Church itself laid claim to and actually exercised a large amount of secular authority. The medieval church was a vast international state, claiming all persons as its subjects, taxing, judging, and commanding them in temporal as well as spiritual matters, creating in them a sort of ecclesiastical patriotism which transcended local loyalties. In every country of Catholic Europe the church shared with the state the authority now possessed wholly by national governments. Above and beyond its authority over the ordinary laity, the church claimed the right of judgment upon the kings of Europe themselves and, if the case required it, the right to depose them. The history of the middle ages is studded with dramatic incidents illustrative of this claim, and with attempts, not always successful, to enforce it. In general, Christian Europe had acquiesced in the papacy's claim to supremacy in matters temporal as well as spiritual.

Causes of the Reformation

The history of the church in the later middle ages has some depressing pages. For over a hundred years a faction of French cardinals contended with a faction of Italian cardinals, both responding readily to political influences. French influence prevailed for a time and the papal capital was removed from Rome to Avignon (1309-1377). Upon the return to Rome the French cardinals chose a rival pope, and for several decades the lands of Europe were in schism, Italy, Germany, and England supporting the Roman popes, France, Scotland and Spain, a series of French rivals. During the century and more of the "Captivity" and the "Great Schism" critics of the church appeared, many and outspoken. These ranged from scholars, who declared that the true source of authority in the church is not the pope but the Christian people, to popular writers, who attacked the rapacity and moral laxness of the clergy. The papacy rallied from this sinking spell at length and appeared to regain much of its lost ground, but two movements had been inaugurated which bore fruit in the religious revolts of the sixteenth century.

The first was political. In the early part of the fifteenth century a

number of church councils were held for the purpose of healing the lacerating schism and checking the rising tide of criticism. These councils were organized and conducted as international congresses, the delegates of each nation deliberating separately and voting *en bloc*. Failing in their collective effort to set up a permanent representative council, the several nations proceeded to make separate bargains with the papacy. The stronger monarchies naturally gained the greater concessions. In France the crown took over practically the whole power of ecclesiastical appointment and jurisdiction. In Spain, a little later, substantially the same rights were gained by the crown. England had won substantial concessions from the papacy before the Age of Councils. Without the permission of the crown no Englishman could appeal to Rome, nor could a papal bull be published or a papal appointment made without the king's consent.

When France was making her bargain with the papacy, the emperor made similar demands. Skillfully exploiting the weakness of the German political system, the pope made successful resistance, and the Concordat of Vienna (1448) reaffirmed his right to collect annates from German bishops and to appoint the high ecclesiastical officials of Germany. National feeling was strong in Germany even if government was not, and the concordat aroused widespread resentment. Lists of grievances were drawn up by successive Diets. That of 1502 declared that money raised by indulgences should not leave Germany. The Diet of 1510 inveighed against the tyranny and extortion of the church of Rome. To the Diet of 1518 Pope Leo X sent a legate requesting a subsidy for a crusade against the Turks. The proposal was rejected with indignation, and the Diet declared that the real enemy of Christianity was not the Turk but "the hound of hell" at Rome.

The second movement which appeared during the century of ecclesiastical weakness was religious. Indeed, it is well to recognize that in times when the church is weak the religious life of the people may be stronger than ever. With the papacy in disfavor, the clergy under fire, and heresy rampant, a spontaneous revival of religion broke out among the people. This late medieval revival, an upsurge of mysticism, had its first center in the Rhone valley; its earliest leaders were German monks. Master Eckhart (c. 1260-1327), head of the German Dominicans, preached in his native tongue, attracting large crowds. His preaching, and that of his followers, led to the founding of a religious order called the Friends of God. One of their members, Gerhard Groot (1340-1384) of Holland, organized the Brothers of the Common Life (1381), an order which attained great influence in the Netherlands and in Germany. Erasmus received his early training at one of their schools. The mystics were outwardly loyal to the church, but they believed that the way to God was

the way of the heart. To feel is to know, even if one cannot explain why. Private devotions are more important than public rites and ceremonies. "Behold, neither exercises, nor words, nor works, can help or further us towards union with God." The cardinal principle of the mystics was simple faith and a Christlike life. One of the Brothers of the Common Life was the German-born Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471), whose book *The Imitation of Christ* has been only less widely read than the Bible itself.

Humanism also contributed to the religious revolts of the sixteenth century. The inquiring, self-reliant emphasis of the humanists unfitted them to remain submissive to the authoritarian claims of the church. Their love of the good things of this world disinclined them to prepare for the next. Critical of the church, they were rarely hostile to it. In undermining the foundations of medieval thought, however, they were gravely endangering the structure of the church, which rested in part upon the same bases. A certain lowering of moral tone accompanied the spread of humanism. Under such popes as Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X (see p. 11) the spiritual interests of the church suffered neglect. Even their way of life was an offense to humble folk of simple piety.

Finally, the economic revolution contributed to the revolt of the Protestants. The new eagerness for profits made men restless and inclined them to be unscrupulous. The vast lands and princely revenues of the greater bishoprics and abbeys excited the cupidity of the capitalist class. The conduct of the princes of the church made them vulnerable to attack for, not immune to the capitalist spirit, they affixed a price tag to most ecclesiastical offices and exemptions. Businessmen argued that the fees for baptism, marriage, and burial placed an excessive economic burden on the poor, that the flow of revenue to Rome sapped the national wealth, and that clerical property should be put to more productive use. Such men would give ready support to critics of the church, or even inspire the criticism.

Backgrounds of the German Reformation

Religious revolt came first in Germany, where conditions in the early sixteenth century well illustrate the political, religious, humanistic, and economic movements of the time. Papal authority and financial exactions bore especially heavily upon the people of Germany because of the political weakness of the country. The feudal princes had begun to fear the centralizing ambition of their new emperor, Charles V, powerful head of the Hapsburg family. The peasants of Germany were restless, not so much because of ecclesiastical burdens, to which they were accustomed, as because the German princes, in an effort to modernize their

estates, were introducing Roman law, which held that a peasant who performed any servile task was definitely a serf. This halted the long, slow climb to freedom of the German rural masses. The learned world of Germany was in a turmoil over the introduction, in certain universities, of the study of Hebrew, following the publication of Reuchlin's *Elements of Hebrew* in 1506. At Cologne the university authorities called upon the pope to burn Reuchlin's books and try him for heresy. Reuchlin defended himself with vigor, and scholars on both sides kept up a merry fracas for several years. As a contribution to his side of the argument Reuchlin published, in 1514, *Letters of Distinguished Men*, which had been written in his support. In the following year there appeared a collection of *Letters from Obscure Men*, addressed to a leading opponent of Reuchlin's at the University of Cologne in pretended support of his views. These letters were really written by friends of Reuchlin. Bad Latin, simple-minded ignorance, and naive assumptions made of the letters "the most effective satire ever written."

Already stirred by the struggle between Reuchlin and the professors of Cologne, the scholars of Germany were excited by the news that a certain Dr. Martin Luther of the University of Wittenberg had launched an attack against Tetzels, purveyor of indulgences in those parts, in his "Ninety-five Theses," tacked to the door of the castle church. Born in 1483, of peasant ancestry, Luther had had a good education, his father intending him for the law. Young Luther first attended a Franciscan school at Eisenach and then proceeded to the University of Erfurt, where he became a good classical scholar. Of an inherently religious nature, Luther as a young man was not satisfied with his religious experience and, suddenly shifting the current of his life, became a monk, joining the Augustinian order at Erfurt. There Luther made steady progress toward a satisfying faith, helped greatly by the head of his order and by his own study and reflection. Achieving, finally, a clear and convincing religious experience, Luther was fired with an irresistible zeal to share it. He plunged eagerly into teaching and preaching at Erfurt, where he had become a professor of theology after securing his doctorate. Salvation, Luther proclaimed, is not a result which a man slowly works out through life with the help of God's grace, but an instantaneous act of God. You are saved at once, wholly saved. By this act Christ becomes your intimate friend. Henceforth you will do Christlike acts. You are not saved by faith plus good works, but by faith alone. Good works are the sign and fruit of salvation, not a part of the process. The close kinship of this view with that of the Brothers of the Common Life will not have escaped notice. German mysticism was not only an important source of Luther's views; its prevalence helps greatly to explain his success.

Indulgences

Germany was uncommonly plagued at the time by a traffic in indulgences. A prince of the Hohenzollern family had added the archbishopric of Mainz to his other dignities and had paid the pope 30,000 ducats for the office, borrowing from the Fugger family. To meet his installments on the loan, the archbishop secured from the pope the privilege of selling indulgences in Germany, the condition being that half the proceeds go to the building fund of St. Peter's in Rome. Financial transactions of this kind were then numerous, and the drain of bullion to Rome was resented by many Germans. An indulgence was a promise of "remission, in whole or in part, of the punishment to be meted out to a person after his death for sins for which he had been sincerely sorry and had done penance."

The apparent commercializing of the sale of indulgences aroused Luther's ire. He cautioned his students not to buy them. Tetzl, the sales agent of the archbishop of Mainz, attacked Luther, who replied with the Ninety-five Theses. These theses do not reject the authority of the pope, they do not even condemn all indulgences, but they plainly state that the real treasure of the church is not good works but God's forgiving grace. This was contrary to what was then the practice if not the theory of the Catholic Church. A certain Meyer of Eck, a Dominican doctor of philosophy, then entered the fray and in their repeated and heated clash of views Luther began to espouse views clearly heretical. Thus far the learned world regarded the controversy as a harmless exchange of broadsides between academic dreadnaughts. This, apparently, was also the view of Pope Leo X, who in response to repeated pleas to silence Luther sent the legate Cajetan, a theologian of the old school with a European reputation, to compose the "squabble of monks." Luther finally agreed to keep still and beg pardon if the other side would do the same—naturally an impossibility. Finally, in 1520, Dr. Eck went to Rome and came back with a papal bull of excommunication. Luther, surrounded by a large crowd of admiring students, burned the document condemning him, tossing a volume of canon law into the flames for good measure. Luther then wrote three important tracts in which he expounded his views and defended his break with the papacy. The first was written in German, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*. The power of the pope over the state must be abolished, Luther said. "Let the power of the pope be reduced within clear limits, let the secular authorities send no more annates to Rome, let the national churches be more independent of Rome," he continued. The second was in Latin, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. In this he attacked the medieval interpretation of the sacraments, holding that the Bible, his sole authority, taught differently. Only bap-

tism, the Lord's Supper, and perhaps penance should be retained. The dogma of transubstantiation Luther denied. The third tract, *The Liberty of a Christian Man*, is a calm, peaceful, mystical exposition of Luther's theory of salvation. The soul is "justified by faith alone and not by any works." The true Christian is the freest man alive—sins forgiven, right with God, in need of no guidance from the church and under no restraint from it, free to love his neighbor and otherwise to live according to God's wishes.

Luther's defiance of the papacy brought him considerable popularity. The papal legate reported that "nine tenths of Germany shout for him." In the year following Luther's break with Rome the new emperor, Charles V, summoned the German Diet to meet at Worms. Anxious to please the pope, who was making overtures to Francis I, Charles made the condemnation of Luther a primary objective of his policy at the Diet. Luther was summoned to appear under a safe-conduct and went without hesitation. Called upon to retract, Luther repeated his heresies with emphasis. "I do not believe in pope or council alone, since it is clear that they have erred. . . . I am overcome by the Scriptures . . . and my conscience is caught by the word of God." Powerful friends of princely rank were able to ensure Luther's safety. They could not, however, prevent his formal condemnation by the Diet (1521). Since each prince could carry out the edict or not, as he pleased, it amounted to little. On the same day that the edict was issued, the pope and Charles agreed to a treaty of alliance against Francis I, and soon thereafter the emperor, man of many interests, returned to Spain for a stay of several years to direct the war with France. In the absence of the emperor the Lutheran princes asserted themselves more confidently, and the next Diet, at Nuremberg, 1523, suspended the Edict of Worms and called for the reform of the German church by an elective council.

Spread of Lutheranism

Meanwhile Luther's following in Germany was increasing. Settling at Wittenberg, he worked out more fully the theological basis and the forms and ceremonies of a new church. There also he completed his translation of the Bible (1522-1534), in a dialect destined to become the German national language. It has been remarked that in this famous version of the Scriptures Luther succeeded in making Christ and the Apostles talk German. In all these enterprises he was assisted by a brilliant young professor of Greek at Wittenberg, Philipp Schwartzerd, called Melancthon (1497-1560), a distant relative of Reuchlin's, who had taken a Greek name like so many of the other humanists of the times. The Augsburg Confession of 1530, written by Melancthon, remains the basic creed

of Lutheran churches today. Luther's *German Mass and Order of Divine Service*, based on a translation of the Catholic Mass, is still in general use. Luther believed in the congregational singing of chorals, and he wrote church music which inaugurated a pattern of musical composition that culminated in the religious compositions of Bach.

The prospect that the German revolt, already strong in northern and central Germany, might become country-wide was heightened by the appearance of another religious leader in southern Germany, Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531). A few weeks younger than Luther and, like him, of peasant ancestry, Zwingli was educated for the priesthood at Basel and Vienna. The former city was the seat of a university and Zwingli became a keen humanist. He took up the study of the New Testament in the Greek, greatly aided by the new edition just issued by Erasmus (1516). Resolving to preach the New Testament gospel pure and simple, Zwingli arrived at views more heretical even than those of Luther. In 1519 Zwingli was called to Zurich, and he made that city the scene of his life's work. Zurich, as a self-governing canton of the Swiss Confederation, was an autonomous member of the German Empire. Zwingli plunged into the political life of his adopted city and became its leader. Political activity influenced his theology, and Zwingli added to his advanced views about the sacraments the concept of a church organized along democratic lines. Under his leadership the civic authorities of Zurich cleared their churches of all images, paintings, frescoes, and musical instruments, even of bells. The Mass was abolished and the Lord's Supper celebrated in a purely commemorative way around a table in the center of the church, the celebration being the occasion of social fellowship among church members. The Zwinglian view was that everything is forbidden which the Bible does not expressly enjoin. Zwingli's radical beliefs made considerable appeal to the commercial classes of the urban cantons of the Swiss Confederation and to other cities of southern Germany such as Ulm, Constance, Augsburg, and Strasbourg. Elsewhere, however, he met with opposition, and Zwingli lost his life in an effort to impose his views by force on some of the peasant cantons in the neighborhood of Zurich (battle of Kappel, 1531). It was agreed thereafter that each canton be free to make its own decision about religion.

But Germany could no more solve her religious problem along national lines than her other problems. Roused by a threat of the Diet to call a German national council, Pope Clement VII resolved to recruit a party of his own among the greater princes of Germany. To this end he dispatched the skillful and supple Cardinal Campeggio to call a meeting of the Catholic princes. The Cardinal promised to all that clerical fees should be reduced and clerical personnel reformed. To the dukes of

Austria and Bavaria he offered one fifth of the ecclesiastical revenue of their duchies. In one way and another the adherence of a goodly number of princes was obtained and a league of Catholic princes formed (1524). Accepting this challenge, the Lutheran princes of central and northern Germany—the elector of Saxony, the dukes of Brunswick, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Württemberg, and certain lesser princes—together with the imperial cities of Frankfurt, Augsburg, Strasbourg, and Nuremberg, organized a Lutheran league (1526). In successive tests of strength in the Diet, first the Lutherans and then the Catholics were in the majority. An edict passed by the former having been withdrawn by vote of the latter, the Lutherans signed a formal protest (1529) which won for them the name of Protestants. In the same year the Protestant cause received another setback when Luther and Zwingli after considerable argument agreed to disagree. A final test of strength between German Protestants and Catholics, in a parliamentary way, occurred at the Diet of Augsburg (1530). Charles, having at last won the upper hand in Italy, revisited Germany and cast his influence on the Catholic side. It was in preparation for this Diet that Melancthon drew up the statement of faith known as the Confession of Augsburg. After long debate and much parliamentary maneuvering the Catholic majority agreed to accept the twenty-one affirmative articles of the Lutheran creed provided the Lutherans would cancel the seven negative articles. The negative articles included the Lutheran rejection of celibacy, the confessional, transubstantiation, fasts, and penances—cardinal points of the new faith. When the Lutherans failed to agree, the Diet formally called upon them to return to the Catholic Church within six months on pain of extirpation, and both sides prepared for civil war.

Luther and the German Princes

Meanwhile the Lutheran movement had been limited in scope. Luther's defiance of the papacy had been followed by sporadic outbursts of religious radicalism. Basing their views upon the teachings of the Gospels, as interpreted by themselves, fanatics appeared in various cities preaching the second coming of Christ and advocating community of goods and uniformity of dress, averring that the direct teaching of the Holy Spirit made them obligatory. Schools were closed, images were smashed and churches fired, amid rioting and bloodshed. Luther denounced these Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, as they were called. He was persuaded that the strong arm of the law was needed to enforce order and uniformity in religious matters, and he urged that each prince set up in his own land a supervisory control over the church. This

tant princes banded themselves together and prepared to fight. Once more, however, the conflict was postponed, this time for fifteen years. The Turks, after their unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1529, seemed likely to return in even greater strength and resume their march up the Danube. This particular thrust proved illusory; but the Moslem menace then appeared in a new form, as piratical attacks were launched against the shipping of the western Mediterranean. For some years these attacks proved to be very troublesome and occupied the attention of Charles V. In the meanwhile, timing his attacks to take full advantage of the pressure of the Turks, Francis I renewed his Italian wars. Charles had never given up his belief that concessions to the Protestants in certain unessential but vexatious matters would compose the religious controversy in Germany. To this end he pressed continually for the summoning of a general council of the church. To this appeal successive popes refused assent. Meanwhile Lutheranism was slowly spreading in Germany as prince after prince, city after city, cast off their allegiance to the papacy.

Taking advantage of a lull in his wars with the Turks and their Christian ally, Charles at long last returned to Germany to fight. There ensued a full decade of commingled war and politics, the details of which it would be tiresome to rehearse. Suffice it to say that Charles failed to unite the Germans religiously as he had failed politically, and the Peace of Augsburg (1555) is the acknowledgment of that failure. Each secular prince and each imperial city was to decide for itself whether Catholicism or Lutheranism should be adopted as the state religion (*cujus regio, ejus religio*). Thus was German nationalism pushed still further into the background as religious disunion was added to political disunion. Any hope that the Peace of Augsburg would do more than postpone strife was dashed by its famous "ecclesiastical reservation." Prince-bishops and abbots who headed, temporarily at least, the large and important ecclesiastical states of Germany were not to be free to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism. Or rather, they were free to choose as individuals, but if they chose the Lutheran faith they forfeited their office and their lands.

Weary of it all, Charles retired (1556) and the vast Hapsburg holdings fell apart. Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands passed to his son Philip, Austria and the empire to his brother Ferdinand. The two branches of the Hapsburg family, German and Spanish, were destined "still to intimidate the world with the possibility of their reunion, but never in fact to be reunited."

Lutheranism in Scandinavia

Lutheranism had only one other important success, namely its conquest of the Scandinavian world. The political, or dynastic, union of

Scandinavia, achieved in 1397 by the Union of Calmar, was broken in 1523 when King Christian II was deposed by a rising of his own nobles. His uncle, Frederick I (1523-1533), succeeded him in Denmark and Norway; but Sweden left the union and a Swedish noble was elevated to the throne by his fellows, taking the name of Gustavus Vasa (1523-1560). Eager to consolidate his authority in the two kingdoms remaining to him, Frederick I gave attention to the Lutheran thesis that the secular prince should be head of the church and that the wealth of the church should be at his disposal. He therefore encouraged the preaching of Hans Tausen, "the Danish Luther," and facilitated the distribution of a Danish version of the New Testament, published in 1529. Frederick's son Christian III (1533-1559) was an enthusiastic Lutheran, in close alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany. He hurried the Lutheran movement to completion in Denmark and Norway, accepting the Confession of Augsburg and establishing the royal supremacy over the church in those lands. Enriched by ecclesiastical wealth and made stronger by its headship of the church, the Danish monarchy became an important factor in the north of Europe.

The revolt of the Swedes under Gustavus Vasa was a nationalist movement, and it was inevitable that the new Swedish king should soon challenge the authority of the papacy. Lutheran preaching was encouraged and a Swedish version of the New Testament distributed (1526). Confiscation of ecclesiastical property followed, Gustavus managing to bring the landlord and mercantile classes to the Lutheran side by judicious distribution of church land. The conversion of the peasants was slower. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, Sweden had become a militant and aggressive Protestant state with definitely expansionist tendencies.

Poland also was strongly affected by the current movement of resistance to papal authority and of hostility to a wealthy and aristocratic clergy. The Polish Diet began by abolishing annates, taxing the clergy, and banning papal appointments. In 1556 King Sigismund Augustus demanded papal approval for a married clergy and a service in the native tongue. This was followed by a demand that a national council be summoned to proceed with further reforms. Soon a variety of sects flourished in Poland, of which the Lutheran was the most important. Indeed, it was the multiplicity of sects and their failure to unite that hampered and delayed the development of the religious revolt in Poland and thus gave the Catholic Church its opportunity. Poland, as we shall see, was wholly regained by Rome.

John Calvin

France also supplied a great Protestant leader in the sixteenth century, though his influence was greater abroad than at home. John Calvin was born in the city of Noyon, about sixty miles north of Paris, where his father was a legal and financial agent of the bishop. Destined for the church, the boy was sent to Paris at fifteen and there spent five years in the faculty of arts, winning his bachelor's degree. In comfortable circumstances, young Calvin had made the most of his opportunities and showed marked ability in languages. He learned to speak and write Latin like his mother tongue; and he made good progress also in Greek and Hebrew. The elder Calvin, however, having quarreled with his episcopal employer, now decided to train his brilliant son in the law and, withdrawing him from Paris, sent him to Orléans. Here the youth soon qualified for a degree in law. Meanwhile his father died, leaving his son a competence. Following the bent of his own mind, young Calvin returned to Paris and as an enthusiastic humanist took up the practice of literature. At the age of twenty-three he published a learned commentary on one of the essays of Seneca, in which he quoted from no less than fifty Latin and twenty-three Greek authors. Suddenly, however, the whole current of his life was changed. Young Calvin was "converted," undergoing a religious experience the effect of which lasted through life. Calvin tells us little about his conversion, saying simply that God in his sovereign way laid hold upon his life and turned it about. The University of Paris was ablaze with religious controversy at the time (c. 1532), and Luther's heresies were being much debated.

Dropping his classical studies forever and quitting Paris for the second time, Calvin retired to the country to undergird his new-found faith with scriptural authority. For the next few years he employed his fine linguistic skill and humanistic method in an analysis of the Bible and the Fathers. The fruit of his labor was the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), the most important book produced on the Protestant side during the Reformation period. Covering the field of doctrine with logical completeness and organized topically, this work of three good-sized volumes was written with precision, lucidity, and finality. It soon won for its author, aged twenty-seven, a European reputation. Its central thesis is that Christians should return to the simplicity of worship and dogma of the early church, abandoning the "unscriptural inventions of men." Though dedicated to the king, the work brought upon its author prompt and permanent exile from his native land. Francis I was not of a zealous religious temper, but he was under the political necessity of standing well with the papacy and was not to be won over by a friendly preface.

There followed for Calvin a year at Basel, two years at Geneva, and three at Strasbourg as the young exile eked out a bare existence as a pastor of Protestant groups in those cities. It was in this period that Calvin worked out on paper his celebrated politico-ecclesiastical system. Finally the civic authorities of Geneva invited Calvin to settle among them on such terms as seemed to give him a free hand.

Geneva then as now was French in speech. As an industrial and commercial city, however, it had close relations with the cities of southern Germany. A self-governing city-state from medieval times, Geneva had been governed by its bishop in cooperation with the heads of the leading families. In the later middle ages the dukes of Savoy had attempted to extend their authority over the city. It was the failure of their bishop to resist this encroachment which alienated the citizenry of Geneva, and finally provoked them to repudiate the authority not only of the duke of Savoy but of the bishop as well. In furtherance of their revolt against their bishop the Genevans had set up a church of their own. On May 21, 1536, the citizens swore that they would "live according to the holy Evangelical law and word of God." For a few years thereafter they called in ministers from the neighboring Protestant cities of Switzerland. Their invitation to Calvin came in 1541. Having devised a complete system for the government and regeneration of man, Calvin had an opportunity such as comes to one man in a million, that of trying out his scheme in a community free from any superior authority.

Once settled in Geneva, Calvin remained there for the rest of his life, and in those twenty-three years he revolutionized Europe. Throughout the period Calvin preached three times a week and lectured on an average of three to five times a week. He conducted a vast correspondence with Protestant leaders in many parts of Europe, his printed letters extending to some thirty folio volumes. Though he occupied no post save that of minister, Calvin was the real ruler of Geneva. Never in robust health, he limited himself to one meal a day and was much of the time bedridden. Five years before his death he founded an academy from which well-trained preachers of the Calvinist faith went forth to France, southern Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary, Poland, Scotland, and England.

Calvinism

In the Calvinist system church and state are one. All baptized persons are not only church members but citizens. The citizens elect a civic council, which in turn appoints the ministers and other civic officials. There can be no distinction between church and state under Calvinism

because both have the same objective, namely, the conversion and regeneration of man. This fusion of church and state is well illustrated by the institution known as the Consistory, a body composed of the ministers plus twelve laymen appointed by the civic council with a layman presiding. It was the Consistory's duty to watch over the morals of the community, private as well as public. To this end a great variety of regulations were enacted—of a highly bothersome and doubtful nature, as we should think. Church attendance was made obligatory, and members must be prompt. Swearing was forbidden. Drunkenness, gambling, even quarreling, were prohibited under strict penalties. All regulations were rigorously enforced. Once every six months a minister and layman visited every household in the city to see that all was well. The loose-moraled crowd whose personal freedom was curtailed, and the old families to whom Calvin was an alien, never ceased to give trouble. Distinguished visitors to Geneva fared no better at the hands of the Consistory than the local citizenry. The Spanish scientist and physician Servetus, happening to visit Geneva, was burned for questioning the dogma of the Trinity. Those acquainted with the early history of New England will find this close identification of church organization and town government, with the zeal of both for good morals, very familiar. Calvin conceived of the church "not simply as an institution for the worship of God but as an agency for the making of men fit to worship Him."

Calvinism was also a theological system. More sternly logical than Luther, Calvin repudiated more of medieval theology and the whole of medieval ceremony. Calvinistic theology is a positive affirmation of the fundamentals of the Christian religion as Calvin found them in the literature of the early church. The positive character of Calvin's teaching is what made his system a fighting faith. The nature of man, originally good, was utterly corrupted by Adam. "In Adam's fall we sinned all," the *New England Primer* recites. "By this original corruption," says Calvin, "man is utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to evil. He is no longer free even to will to do good works unless he is helped by God's grace, given only to the elect, whom God, for the manifestation of his glory, has elected and chosen unto everlasting life." God "saves whom He will of His mere good pleasure." Calvin believed that the number of the elect was few, and it is clear that he was not in love with his own doctrine; but there was nothing he could do about it. His answer to the infallible Catholic Church was the immutable will of God. Many Calvinists held that God's choice might be influenced by the evil, or lack of it, in a man's life. Thus, men might help to save themselves. "God caused the Gospel to be preached to them, making the same, through the Holy Ghost, of strength upon their minds; so that they

not merely obtain power to repent and believe, but also actually and voluntarily do repent and believe."

Calvinists were prone to exact from themselves, and demand in others, great particularity of conduct. Never, perhaps, in all history has there been such insistence upon sobriety, honesty, and diligence. The Calvinist was grave, reflective, slow of speech, "ranking his words beforehand," abstemious in food and drink. Sobriety expressed itself in dress; whatever was in style the Calvinist denounced. "Religion is their garment, and their hair cut shorter than their eyebrows." Much of this derives from the central dogma of predestination, strictly construed. Under the spell of this thesis everyone will be impelled to believe himself to be one of God's elect; to doubt it would be to contemplate enduring the fires of hell forever. One cannot, however, be certain of one's election beyond the shadow of a doubt; one can only cling tenaciously and with all one's strength to one's belief. The best way to silence doubts and keep one's morale always high is to act like one of God's elect, in season and out of season, with never a day off nor a night out. Needless to say, the Calvinists took themselves pretty seriously. They tended to become censorious, sour, conceited, intolerant of weakness. Their critics have been numerous, and still are. An Anglican bishop once expressed the wish, it is said, that instead of the Pilgrims' landing on Plymouth Rock, Plymouth Rock had landed on the Pilgrims.

Another derivative of the Calvinist theory and practice was social and political democracy. In an age when feudal distinctions were still sharp the common man was awakened by Calvinism to a consciousness of his own essential worth and dignity. No prince of the church, no lord or lady of high degree, could be greater than one of God's elect. John Knox, Calvin's most famous pupil, used to rebuke his queen publicly from the pulpit. It was said of him that "he never disdained the meanest nor flattered the greatest." A common calling and election, a brotherhood in Christ, destroyed all social distinctions. Calvin also taught that the choice of ministers and magistrates should be made by the people themselves. Society itself, he said, is based upon a covenant with God. All this will explain, at least in part, the fact that Calvinism had its greatest success in the cities and towns. There self-governing institutions were already well established. To be sure, "the people," among the urban dwellers, were likely to be lawyers, merchants, and well-to-do artisans, rather than the proletariat. The strong scholarly traditions of Calvinism made it a favorite dogma also among the better educated individuals of the middle class.

Another element of Calvinism that made a strong appeal to the bourgeois element was its emphasis upon the duty and dignity of labor. Waste of time is a deadly sin. Furthermore, it is a man's duty to employ

his talents as well as his time to the best advantage, for he is God's steward and must use God's gifts as He requires. Thus the profit-seeking motive in man received religious sanction. Some economists profess to find in this emphasis of Calvinism an explanation of the quick growth of capitalism in the Netherlands, in England, in America, and among the Huguenots of France, but perhaps this is carrying the matter too far. England and the Netherlands owed some of their prosperity to their successful inroads on Spanish commerce. It has been pointed out, further, that the wealthiest cities of Holland were not the most purely Calvinistic communities and that the Scotch people, among the poorest in Europe, were among the most Calvinistic.

Calvin's life was cut short in his fifty-fifth year, but this seeming disaster was more than compensated for by the work of Theodore Beza, one of his pupils. A Frenchman, too, Beza succeeded to Calvin's place of authority in Geneva and held it for forty years (1564-1605). Absolutely unoriginal and unambitious, Beza devoted himself to the methodical administering of the Calvinist organization and purpose. More conciliatory than his master, Beza often succeeded where Calvin would have failed. The academy continued to send forth missionaries. Indeed, Geneva continued throughout the sixteenth century to be the center and source of Calvinist propaganda for the whole of western Europe. Italians, Germans, Englishmen, Russians, Spaniards, and above all Frenchmen came to Geneva in throngs and went away with a burning desire to spread their faith.

Spread of Calvinism

The spread of Calvinism in Europe may be briefly surveyed. In the Swiss Confederation Calvin gathered the fragments of the Protestant party shattered by the death of Zwingli. The eight urban cantons became Calvinist, the five peasant cantons remaining Catholic. In southern Germany, more particularly in the cities of the Rhineland, Calvin made many converts. As an organized church Calvinism was terribly handicapped in Germany because, coming late upon the scene, it failed to gain official recognition in the Peace of Augsburg. Calvinists, therefore, were persecuted by Catholic and Lutheran princes alike. In the thriving cities of the Netherlands, where Charles V had succeeded in checking Luther, Calvinism made converts by the thousands, especially in the more urban north. The Dutch Reformed Church, as the Calvinist church was called, rooted itself so firmly as to resist all efforts to eradicate it. In defense of their faith, as well as of their economic and political liberty, the Dutch in time set up a progressive and democratic state.

A Frenchman by birth and training, and established in a French-

speaking community not far from the frontier, Calvin quite naturally worked with all his heart and soul for the conversion of his native land. The Geneva press poured forth a flood of books and pamphlets. Swarms of young Frenchmen passed through Calvin's academy and then returned home, having refashioned themselves in the likeness of their leader. The number of these missionaries to France must have been large; definite record has been found of 161 of them between the years 1555 and 1566. And they got results. From the first they won converts among the merchant and artisan classes of the French cities and towns. Parish clergy, alienated by the wealth and political-mindedness of their own superiors, were frequent converts. Many of the smaller nobility embraced the "reformed" faith out of hostility to the crown and court. Finally, as the movement gained momentum, a few of the greatest nobles of France became Calvinist, among them Coligny, hereditary Admiral of France, Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre (of the younger branch of the royal family), and his brother the prince of Condé. There were Calvinists in every quarter of France when Calvin died; the total number of adherents was about one sixth of the whole population. The Genevan patriots who fought for liberty against the duke of Savoy had called themselves *eyguenots*, or "confederates," and this is probably the origin of the term Huguenots as applied to French Calvinists.

Calvinism had failed to sweep France, however. One reason for its failure was the steady hostility of the French monarchy. The king was the real head of the French church after 1516 (the Concordat of Bologna). The great offices of the church and even the wealth of the church were placed at his disposal. Francis I (1515-1547) and Henry II (1547-1559) vetoed all projects of ecclesiastical reform not emanating from themselves. Francis persecuted heretics from political motives; Henry II, from religious motives. The latter established a sort of French Inquisition, *la chambre ardente*, to purge France of heresy by fire.

Another reason why the reformers failed to capture France was that their preachments did not appeal to the French intelligentsia. French men of letters and learning had been captivated by the classical Renaissance and they remained in close touch with Italian humanists. Rabelais took no interest in reform by revolution. Even Jacques Lefèvre (d. 1537), called "the French Luther," was never a rebel, though he translated portions of the Bible into the French tongue (1521-1523) and preached the Gospel message in a fresh and appealing way.

Small as it was, however, the Calvinist minority in France commanded resources both material and moral which made it very formidable. As we shall see, the Huguenots withstood an attempt to exterminate them with fire and sword which lasted for half a century.

Calvinism made a complete conquest of Scotland. There the church was more than usually wealthy and corrupt. The higher clergy were scarcely to be distinguished from the lay members of those noble families from whose ranks they came. Scotch clergymen openly acknowledged their children if not their wives; and so late as the battle of Flodden (1513) Scotch bishops and abbots in the armor and with the arms of the period dealt out heavy though unavailing blows against the English. The lay nobles of Scotland were a turbulent lot, making the life of their sovereigns uneasy and even precarious. They lent a ready ear first to Lutheran and then to Calvinist preachers with a mind to what it might profit them in wealth and power. King James V, a mere infant when his father fell at Flodden, died at the age of thirty, worn out and despairing (1542). His queen was a French princess, Margaret of Guise. Just six days before the untimely death of the king his queen had borne him a daughter, famous in history and romance as Mary, Queen of Scots. The queen-mother installed as viceregent the princely, able, and dissolute archbishop of St. Andrews, Cardinal Beaton. In 1546 a handful of rebellious nobles professing to be Protestants invaded the cardinal's castle, slew him, and for good measure, hanged him. Among the supporters of the noble gangsters was a middle-aged and therefore undistinguished Scotch priest named John Knox (1505-1572). When French artillery smashed the stronghold of the rebellious nobles, Knox followed the survivors into captivity and spent nineteen months as a galley slave in the French fleet. Escaping, he made his way to Geneva, where he spent five years assimilating Calvinism. Returning to Scotland, Knox immediately assumed the leadership of the Protestant movement. In 1560, when the Scottish Parliament at the behest of Knox repudiated papal supremacy, he set up the Church of Scotland, which later became the state church. Its creed, the "Scottish Confession," drawn up by Knox, is a clear and forcible summary of Calvinist doctrine.

A National Church in England

Under the leadership of the strong monarchy of the Tudors England also broke away from the papal empire and established a national church. The secular spirit of the Renaissance was active in England; scholars and men of letters were turning their thought from religion to worldly matters. More's *Utopia* is a contribution to sociology, not theology. Businessmen of London were founding grammar schools staffed by lay teachers, the better to fit their sons for careers in business and the professions. The financial demands of the church were resented by the laity, especially the excessive fees for baptism, marriage, and burial. The exemption of

all clerics from the severer penalties of the law, however grave their crimes, also excited the animosity of laymen. Moreover, as national self-consciousness developed, less and less loyalty was felt toward the papacy, closely identified as it had been of late with the secular politics of Europe.

Almost any incident would have revealed how weak was the hold of the papacy upon the people of England. Henry VIII's desire for a divorce and his failure, finally, to secure it from the papal Curia happened to be the matter that led to the breach with Rome. Henry had lived with Catherine of Aragon contentedly enough for eighteen years and she had borne him several children, two of them boys. All save one child had died in infancy, however, and that one was a sickly girl who did not seem likely to live to maturity. Catherine was now (1527) beyond the age of childbearing, and Henry seems to have been genuinely anxious to provide better for the succession. England had suffered long from a succession dispute, and the reign of Henry VII had been made unquiet by a series of royal pretenders. Some urgency was given to Henry VIII's musings on affairs of state by the fact that he had been smitten with the charms of one of his queen's maids in waiting, a dark-haired flirt named Anne Boleyn. As a matter of fact, Henry was constantly falling in and out of love, but his infatuation for Anne was exploited to the limit by that shrewd and ambitious damsel.

The annulling of a royal marriage for reasons of state was nothing new or even unusual. Henry's own sister, Margaret had had her marriage with James IV of Scotland set aside, and the papal Curia had been equally obliging in the case of Louis XII of France, to mention two cases. Two obstacles interposed in Henry's case, however, one embarrassing, the other fatal. The first was that Henry had had to obtain a special dispensation to marry Catherine at all, since she was his deceased brother's wife. It would be decidedly awkward for the papal Curia now to reverse itself. This technical point was cast in the shade, however, by a political factor. The emperor Charles V, Catherine's nephew and head of the Hapsburg family, was unalterably opposed to the divorce. His loyalty to his aunt was understandable and praiseworthy. Catherine had been a loyal and forgiving wife; with appealing dignity and firmness she defended her right to the status and honor of queen of England.

Disappointed in his hope of a speedy divorce, Henry felt sure that the pope would yield to sufficient pressure. Calling Parliament in 1529, he encouraged and indeed organized the anticlerical and antipapal feeling already latent in it. Bit by bit the papal revenues from England were appropriated to the crown. Papal powers of appointment were transferred to the king. Finally all judicial appeals to Rome were cut off and papal jurisdiction in England was brought to an end. The new archbishop of

Canterbury declared Henry's marriage with Catherine null and void, and the king promptly entered upon his second matrimonial venture. So far the movement in England had been wholly political and legal. The statutes of Henry's Parliaments cast off the papal authority as being that of a "foreign prince and potentate," "an exterior person." One almost looks for a formal Declaration of Independence among the English documents of this period.

As head of the Church of England Henry VIII was no less his own master than he had shown himself to be as head of the state. Like the Germans, Englishmen were obliged to conform to the faith of their prince. Henry's own faith was Catholic, never anything else. At the height of the Lutheran agitation in 1521, he had written a heated defense of the sacraments and, ironically enough, had argued cogently in favor of papal supremacy. Pope Leo X had rewarded the royal pamphleteer with the title of Defender of the Faith. Henry showed himself as strongly averse to the other great Protestant system of the continent, and late in his reign banned all Calvinistic literature from his domain.

On the other hand, Henry authorized the translation of the Bible, and a copy of the English Bible was placed in every church throughout the land. The king also issued for use in the churches of England a little volume called the *King's Primer*, containing an English version of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a few collects and canticles. These steps were welcomed by those who felt that there was something anomalous about a national church which did not use the national language. Henry also dissolved the monasteries and confiscated their lands, which represented about one tenth of the national wealth. Much of the monastic property, the gift of the pious folk of former time, was given by the king to families upon which he could count to fight tooth and nail for the maintenance of the royal supremacy over the church.

Anglicanism after Henry VIII

At the time of Henry VIII's death in 1547 most Englishmen felt as he did in religious matters. In belief and in form of worship they preferred the ways of their ancestors, but they patriotically upheld the king in his break with Rome. There were, however, two small minorities. One, inspired by Calvinism, wanted so to change the theology and mode of worship of the national church as to make it definitely Protestant. Another minority longed to return to Rome. During the next two reigns each of these minorities ruled England in turn.

Of the numerous children born to one or another of Henry's wives only three remained alive at the king's death in 1547. They were Mary,

daughter of Catherine of Aragon; Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn; and Edward, son of Jane Seymour.

The Protestant changes in the Church of England were the work of a group of nobles who seized control of the Council of Regency which Henry had appointed to rule in the name of the nine-year-old Edward VI. The young king's uncle, the duke of Somerset, first leader of this group, was not greatly interested in religion but saw in radical Protestantism a policy which might make him king in all but name. His rival and successor, the earl of Northumberland, outdid Somerset in his espousal of Protestant changes, coveting for his family nothing less than the crown itself. Out of this welter of politics played for high stakes came the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Articles of Religion, which made the Church of England a Protestant church and which keep it so today. The *Book of Common Prayer* (1552) is basically a translation of the Latin services familiarly in use in the churches of England for many centuries. The work of Archbishop Cranmer, this translation is one of the classics of English literature, and portions of it, at least, have brought and still bring consolation to millions of persons of English speech, whether members of the Church of England or not. The Articles of Religion (1553) constitute the official creed of the Anglican church and are still formally subscribed to by all ministers of that body. The Prayer Book and the Articles reveal a modified Calvinism.

England as a whole followed but slowly in the wake of her Protestant leaders and at the death of Edward VI (1553) preferred the Catholic Princess Mary to the Protestant Lady Jane Grey, whom the desperate earl of Northumberland brought forward. Mary's Catholic policy proved as little to the liking of the majority of Englishmen, however, as had the radical Protestantism of Edward's reign. Eager to vindicate her mother's memory, warmly religious by nature, and feeling that she had not long to live, Mary moved swiftly to undo all that had been done in the realm of religious change since Henry VIII first thought of divorce. England was reconciled to Rome and once more, for a few brief years, formed a part of the papal empire. To consolidate what she had done, Mary sought to extirpate the band of Protestant leaders of the previous reign, and some three hundred executions followed. Among those to die were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Latimer and Ridley. England had never known such wholesale persecution in the name of religion, and Mary's Catholic policy became thoroughly unpopular. This unpopularity was augmented by the queen's marriage to the Catholic king of Spain, Philip II. England was thus drawn into Philip's war with France and promptly lost Calais, the sole remaining English possession on French soil. Mary died in 1558 at the age of forty-two, with a keen sense of having

failed. Under the new queen, Elizabeth, England quickly swung back to the moderate Protestantism which had by this time become the preference of the majority of Englishmen.

More clearly than in any other country of Europe the religious question in England was settled on national lines. The head of the state church, save in purely religious matters, was the crown. The bishops were public officials, receiving their appointment from the crown. Legislation in ecclesiastical matters, as in secular matters, was by king and Parliament. Attendance at religious services was obligatory, a grievous matter for the members of the two minority parties. The Catholics, estimated to number about one fourth of the population, became increasingly suspect of political disloyalty as the war with Catholic Spain drew near. The Calvinistic minority bore the limitations of the law with a patience which lessened as its numbers increased. Its great trial of strength and its brief triumph came in the next century.

SECTION TWO



Religious Wars and National Readjustments 1550-1650

BY MID-CENTURY the advance of Protestantism roused the Catholic world to thought and action. Lines were drawn and plans laid at the Council of Trent, where it was resolved to roll back the tide of Protestant advance. But Protestantism had by no means spent its force; Calvinism, particularly, had most of its conquests yet to make. A century of conflict ensued; wars, civil and international, fill the pages of history. Though these wars have been labeled "religious," there was not one of them in which other motives, especially dynastic and economic, did not play a leading part. Religion, indeed, became something of a political football. Finally, in 1648, the long century of religious wars ended with the Peace of Westphalia. The religious universalism of the middle ages was gone, displaced by the religious diversity of modern times. Europeans were destined to fight no more wars of religion; but the word "toleration" was still strange, and it appears nowhere in the treaties which mark the close of the bitter conflict.

Throughout most of the hundred years of war and readjustment Spain was the dominant state of Europe. Her armies were the finest on the Continent, her colonial empire incomparably the richest. Even in the realm of culture the age was to a considerable degree Spanish. Spain's royal house was proud of its position as the leading family of Europe, and it undertook to check, single-handed if need be, the advance of Protestantism. At last, however, came decline, and France, recovering from a plague

of civil wars, began to assume that place of predominance in Europe's life to which her population, her wealth, and her culture fully entitled her.

The century of conflict was also one of more complete national integration. In each of the states of western Europe, even in republican Holland, leadership was supplied by a national dynasty. Nobility and clergy, medieval rivals to royal authority, were more and more fully brought under the control of monarchy. The national monarchies moved to strengthen the machinery of government by bringing the religious practices of their subjects under the complete control of the state, and to no small extent the religious troubles of the time derived from these attempts. Progress was made in the establishment of national armies and navies, central taxation systems, and courts of law. Economic life underwent rapid development as trade increased with colonial expansion. Merchants and bankers lent their powerful support to the centralizing plans of the national dynasties. Scholars came forward to argue the social necessity and value of strong government, just as their medieval counterparts had justified to human reason the dogmas of theology. Indeed, strong government was required to save the state from disorder at home and attack from abroad.

By 1648 the state system was fully established in Europe. The Empire was an empty shell. The claim of the pope to temporal sovereignty in Europe was, as an effective force, a thing of the past. Sweden had grown great, and two new states, Switzerland and the Dutch Republic, had attained the status of sovereign powers.

CHAPTER V

The Catholic Reformation and the Ascendancy of Spain

FOR NEARLY half a century after Luther nailed his theses to the door of the castle church the movement of revolt went forward without pause. The whole of Scandinavia, the greater part of Germany, considerable areas of Poland and Hungary, nearly all of Switzerland, the northern half of the Netherlands, and the whole of England had withdrawn from the papacy, and Scotland was on the eve of doing so. In France, Europe's largest and most populous country, a small but vigorous minority was hopeful of winning the whole nation for Protestantism, while in Italy serious disaffection was inhibited only by the total lack of national feeling. About the year 1560, however, the tide of Protestant advance was checked. Its forward movement at an end, the tide measurably receded as the Catholic Church strove to regain its lost provinces. There followed a century of religious wars, at the close of which a line was fixed between the Protestant and the Catholic world of Europe which has lasted to this day.

Projects of Reform

The force that checked and then reversed the Protestant advance was a movement of reform within the Catholic Church itself. No good Catholic of the early sixteenth century failed to recognize the grave abuses within the church, or the change in the temper of the times. A fact-finding commission appointed by Pope Paul III called attention (1537) to the scandals in religious houses; to the loose women openly received in the houses of cardinals; to the bishops who neglected their duties, even living at a distance from their dioceses; to the excess of indulgences; and, most serious of all in the opinion of the commission, to the vicious system of money payments in administrative offices under which anything and everything was for sale. Some reformers urged the convening of a general council; others felt that reforms were possible only through a further extension and centralizing of the authority of the pope. Still others thought that a revival of religion affecting clergy and laity alike was the great need of the time. Pruning away abuses and re-emphasizing clerical

holiness of life, however, did not satisfy those who held that the theology of the church should be brought up to date. Such men felt that a reconciliation could and should be made between scholasticism and humanism. They pointed out that the church had often displayed its genius for assimilation; an example was the reconciliation of the faith and science of the thirteenth century. Other leaders strenuously opposed all compromise; in their view, the whole body of medieval dogma must be retained if the church were to regain the great position she had held.

The popes of the period did little or nothing to shape or define the movements of reform, employing instead a policy of watchful waiting. Gradually a well-rounded program took shape. First came an old-fashioned revival of religion which expressed itself mainly in the reformation of old monastic bodies and the founding of new ones. Among the new orders was the Theatines, founded at Rome in 1524. To foster a holier life, the secular clergy were urged to live under monastic vows while continuing their usual work. This new order was especially eager to combat the error of Luther. It spread rapidly through Italy and then, more slowly, through most of the other countries of Europe. Far larger and more influential was a body of reformed Franciscans called Capuchins (from their pointed hood or *cappuccio*), founded in 1526. The goal of this order was a return to the primitive simplicity of St. Francis. "Observe the rule to the letter" was its motto. This order became immensely popular and is credited with having kept the people of Italy loyal to the church. Its work was by no means confined to Italy, however.

Loyola and the Jesuits

Greatest of the new orders, indeed the most powerful religious order in the entire history of the church, was the Society of Jesus, to which the pope extended official recognition in 1540. Don Iñigo Lopez de Recalde was born in 1491 in the castle of Loyola in Guipúzcoa, Spain. Of the lesser nobility, Loyola, as he is called, was first a page at the court of King Ferdinand of Aragon, and later followed the profession of arms in his sovereign's service. Defending the fortress of Pampeluna against French invaders, Loyola, who was about thirty at the time, was badly crippled when a cannon ball fractured his leg. When the bone knit crooked, with a splinter protruding from the flesh, the grim soldier had the leg broken, stretched on the rack, and reset. This excruciating process was twice repeated as, in the course of two months, Loyola strove to get back on his feet. All in vain; he was faced with the realization that his fighting days were over.

Having somehow learned to read, Loyola spent his long convalescence soaking himself in the devotional literature then so popular in Spain. His

religious feelings were profoundly influenced, and he resolved to give his life to the service of the church. Finding that he had much to learn, he began to go to school and ultimately gained the best that the universities of Barcelona, Salamanca, and Alcalá could offer him. He then began to preach, only to be shut up by the Inquisition because he was unlicensed. Taking up the pen, Loyola wrote out the gist of his ideas in a book called *The Spiritual Exercises*, the most remarkable book produced by the Catholic Reformation. Reflecting the soldier's viewpoint, it is essentially a drill book, with daily exercises for the control and direction of the will and imagination. Going to Paris, "the little man with the smile," crippled and hardly ever free from pain but educated now and disciplined, began to gather the few followers who with himself were to lay their lives at the feet of the pope. One of these early recruits was Francis Xavier, the world-famous missionary.

The first emphasis of the new order was on discipline. The obedience exacted by the head, or "General," of the order from its members was more than military. The Jesuit must surrender not only his body but his will. He must obey his superior "like a corpse which can be turned this way or that, or a rod that follows every impulse, or a ball of wax that might be molded in any form." The ultimate earthly superior of the members was the pope, to whom each was bound by a special oath of obedience.

Hardly less emphasis was placed on efficiency. The Jesuits were regarded as a special militia, at the service of the pope at any time and on any front. A distinctive monkish dress might be a hindrance to the work of the members, so none was prescribed. Prolonged fasting and other ascetic practices were ruled out because they might reduce the strength and vitality needful for best results. New recruits were carefully inspected, and a long and rigorous apprenticeship was exacted. The work of the order was to be entrusted only to men of good personality, attractive appearance, and nonprovocative temper. Young men of good family were especially welcome. The Jesuits founded schools, and for a century they were the most popular and successful teachers in Europe. From the first, Jesuits strove to gain positions of personal influence—as private confessors, for example—with the leaders of European affairs. The Jesuits also excelled as missionaries; their heroism, their daring, and their success both in the Old World and in the New constitute one of the epics of modern history.

The Roman Inquisition

The commissioning of the order of the Jesuits in 1540 was an indication that an uncompromising spirit was beginning to influence the leaders

of the church. This spirit was crystallized in the founding of the Roman Inquisition in 1542. First established in the thirteenth century, the medieval Inquisition had developed along lines which became traditional. An inquisitor was first of all a missionary. His object was to reconcile heretics, to restore lost sheep to the fold. Medieval inquisitors were picked men of a high type, usually Franciscans or Dominicans. If persuasion succeeded and the heretic recanted, a sufficient penance was imposed, which might be imprisonment for a term, even for life, often in a dungeon closed to light and air. If persuasion failed, the church acknowledged defeat by handing the victim over to the civil authorities. Death at the stake followed, terrible enough but scarcely more terrible than the dungeon for life. By the fifteenth century the medieval Inquisition had done its work and had been allowed to lapse.

In completing their work of conquest in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella found new work for the Inquisition and in 1477 prevailed upon the pope to sanction its revival there. The Spanish Inquisition remained wholly under the authority of the crown; appeal to the pope was not allowed. It became a terribly efficient engine of oppression and repression, political as well as ecclesiastical. It was this Spanish type of Inquisition which was now revived in Rome at the suggestion of Loyola and others. The powers of the Roman Inquisition were entrusted to a commission of twelve cardinals, with jurisdiction on both sides of the Alps. The Inquisition was especially effective in the Italian peninsula.

The Council of Trent (1542-1563)

Charles V and his fellow princes of Catholic Germany had been for some time insisting that the pope summon a general council of the church. They conceived the task of such a council to be twofold: first, to recast and modify dogma to the end that Lutherans might be persuaded to return to the fold; secondly, to reform the church, head and members, so that it might regain the confidence and affection of the people. Mindful of the attempt a century earlier to set up a council as a limiting legislative body, the popes successively opposed the project of a council and sought either to delay or to kill it. Such was the power of the emperor that the papacy was compelled at last to give way, and in 1542 Pope Paul III summoned a general council to meet at Trent. Significantly, Trent was the German city nearest the Italian border.

The Council of Trent, the last general council save one in the modern history of the Catholic Church, was destined to last for twenty years. Summoned in 1542, it actually met in 1545 and sat for two years. Busying itself with doctrinal matters, the council was then adjourned by the pope

when the emperor pressed for clerical reform. The next pope (Julius III) consented to revive the council if the emperor would agree in advance that the papal authority should remain intact, and sessions were resumed briefly (1551-1552). Strangely enough, Lutheran delegates were now invited to attend and did so. Not so strangely, they found themselves unable to agree with the Catholics. The French king boycotted the council since he was again at war with Charles V. Lutheran successes in Germany accounted in part for the hasty adjournment of the council in 1552. Shortly thereafter all real hope for a reunion with the Lutherans died with the signing of the Peace of Augsburg. The third and final session began in 1562 and lasted through 1563. The propulsive force behind this session, Charles V having retired, was the king of France, who had threatened to call a French national council.

Taken as a whole, the Council of Trent constitutes an important chapter in the history of the Catholic Church. In matters of dogma the decision of the council was "no compromise." Medieval theology was restated; points formerly left open for discussion were precisely defined; Lutheran and Calvinistic beliefs were plainly and pointedly labeled as heresies. Works as well as faith were held efficacious; tradition was deemed of equal authority with the Scriptures; the new Protestant translations of the Bible were expressly banned and the familiar Vulgate of the middle ages stamped as the only authorized version. The "Profession of Faith" of Trent, in which all this and much more was summed up, remains binding upon all priests of the Catholic Church today.

The re-emphasis of medieval concepts in Christian theology was a matter of importance to the whole Christian world. The Protestant theologians held salvation to be a cataclysmic event, and practically ruled out freedom of the will. Catholic theologians insisted that salvation was a process, sometimes long and gradual. In this process the church had an important part to play, but so also had the individual. The believer's faith and good works could be wondrously efficacious in winning salvation for him, Catholic doctrine insisted; his sin and indifference might easily lose it. The Protestant theology of the times, on the other hand, hardly gave a man a fair chance.

The position of the modern Catholic Church is seen at Trent in the affirmation of the absolute authority of the pope with which the council ended its sittings. Fear that a council might diminish its authority had troubled the papacy both before and during the sessions. Nor was that fear unfounded; Spaniards as well as Frenchmen and Germans sought to weaken papal authority. The Germans asked for authority to compromise with the Lutherans; the Spaniards wished to increase the authority of the local bishops; the French wanted to set up a general council as a

permanent institution. Papal emissaries made the most of these differences in point of view and played one nation against another. For three hundred years after Trent no general council of the church was held, and the Council of the Vatican (1877) merely carried forward the decision of Trent to its logical conclusion, affirming the dogma of papal infallibility.

Another matter which received emphasis at Trent was the need of a learned and zealous clergy. It was directed that a seminary for the training of priests be maintained in every diocese. Pope Paul IV (1555-1559), founder of the Theatines and first of the modern popes, set an example to the whole priesthood in holiness of life. A revival of scholarship was begun at Rome, new editions of the Fathers were brought out, the text of the Vulgate was improved, and the Vatican Library was enlarged. Hand in hand with positive scholarship of this character, however, we find a provision which has seemed to some to look in a different direction. The Council of Trent authorized the pope to draw up an *Index of Prohibited Books*, containing the works of heretics and other writings which "tended to heresy, impiety, magic, or immorality." This was done. Effectively administered, the *Index* proved of immense usefulness in molding public opinion in Catholic countries. Try as they might, the Protestant nations were never able to equal it.

Spain and Her Empire

No country in Europe contributed so much to the Catholic Reformation as Spain; the Spanish people and their sovereign were proud to be its principal champion. It was the great age of Spain. Her population in the middle of the sixteenth century was about seven millions, less than half that of France though double the population of England. Spain's most important economic resource was not industry nor even agriculture, but flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. The greater part of the country consists of a plateau, averaging two thousand feet above sea level. Long hot summers and limited rainfall make the land suitable primarily for grazing. Millions of sheep have inhabited this plateau from early times, their fine wavy wool being famous in Roman days. In the river valleys, where irrigation is possible, and along the narrow stretches of coastal plain, flourished olives, vineyards, fruits, and rice. The Spanish industries of textiles, hardware, and leather were housed in the towns of the seacoast or interior. To the harbors of Barcelona and Valencia came a share of the Mediterranean trade.

Spain's empire overseas was large and rapidly growing. Administratively it was divided into two parts, each under a viceroy. "New Spain" included Mexico, the West Indies, Central America, the northern

coast of South America, and the Philippines. It is interesting to observe that Spain was obliged to govern the Philippines from her base in the New World because of the rigid monopoly over the African route enforced by Portugal. The viceroyalty of Peru included Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and the Argentine. These realms were divided into dioceses, and a numerous clergy introduced the natives to Christianity. The number of Spaniards resident in the New World (1600) was about 200,000; the native population over which they ruled exceeded five millions. There were also some 50,000 Negro slaves in Spanish America. Mexico City, largest of the urban centers, had a population of 150,000. A university was founded in Mexico City during the reign of Philip II, and another at Lima.

Spanish imperial trade was strictly controlled by the crown, which was assisted by the Council for the Indies, established in 1524, and numerous subordinate bureaus and agencies. All ships were owned by the king and leased to merchants and private traders. Only Spaniards, or foreigners who had resided in Spain for ten years and who were of the Catholic faith, might engage in the colonial trade. The two large merchant fleets which sailed each year for the New World traveled under convoy, such was the risk of loss through the attacks of pirates or privateers. Ports of call in America were few. In Spain the sole seat of trade was Cadiz, later Seville. Gold and silver bullion from New World mines was under strict supervision all along the line. The crown took a flat 20 per cent.

Philip II

To his son Philip, Charles V had left, on his retirement in 1556, Spain and her empire, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the duchy of Milan, and the rich and populous Netherlands. Inasmuch as the relations of the Spanish Hapsburgs with their German relatives remained close and friendly, the encirclement of France, traditional rival of the Hapsburgs, was complete. To further assure to his son a position of predominance on the continent, Charles arranged for Philip's marriage with Mary Tudor, queen of England. This marriage, which took place in 1554, was calculated to attach England permanently to the Spanish side and thus prevent a revival of the old policy of balance which Cardinal Wolsey had pursued with such brilliance in the reign of Henry VIII. Though Philip's stay in England was brief and the marriage childless, the union did serve to join England with Spain in the continuing war with France. In 1559, at Cateau-Cambr sis, Philip made peace with France on a basis of the *status quo*, which assured Spanish predominance in Italy. Both Philip and the French king, Henry II, were beginning to be concerned about the spread of Protestant heresy. To complete his dynastic success, King

Philip in 1580 acquired the throne of Portugal, thus uniting the entire Spanish peninsula. To the great overseas empire of Spain were thus added the extensive holdings of the Portuguese in the New World and the Old. Thus was laid the territorial basis for the great age of Spain.

King Philip had a long reign of more than forty years (1556-1598). As a lad he had been carefully trained in the art of personal government by his father, whom Philip worshiped as his hero. Charles V's injunctions to his son were, generally, to listen to everyone but trust no one, and to retain direct authority over all matters. Philip followed this advice faithfully. The result was that he overburdened himself with the minutiae of government, developing a passion for reading and annotating state papers that was almost psychopathic. His administration was hopelessly procrastinating; messages of urgent importance lay unanswered for months. Government by direct authority was for Philip a matter of religious conviction. He believed that God had entrusted him with full authority and that his responsibility was to God alone. He declined to seek the advice of any class or group, not even the Cortes. His ministers were in "the service of God and his majesty." As a European phenomenon, royal absolutism received a good deal of advancement from Philip II's long practice of the art.

Born in Spain, Philip spoke only the language of his countrymen and during the last forty years of his life he never set foot on other than his native soil. His blue eyes and light coloring gave him a somewhat un-Spanish appearance, but the king was nevertheless very popular, receiving the nicknames of "the Prudent," and "the Great." Philip was of slight build and less than average height, and led by choice a life of physical inactivity. Though his country engaged in many wars, Philip took no personal part in them. During the voyage of the famous Armada he spent many hours of the day on his knees in prayer.

Philip was a very devout man by upbringing and by inclination. The Escorial, which he built on the outskirts of Madrid, was a combination of palace and monastery, and the windows of the royal apartments looked out upon the high altar of the monastic church. Maintenance of the religious unity of his subjects Philip regarded as the essential basis of effective government as well as a part of his duty to God. The restoration of all Europe to the Catholic fold would, in his opinion, redound to both the glory of God and the prestige of the Spanish dynasty. His relations with the papacy, however, were not always cordial. Philip accepted the decrees of Trent in so far as they did not infringe upon the royal prerogatives, but he would allow no papal bull to be published in his dominions without his prior knowledge and consent.

It would seem that if this Spanish king could have had his wish it

would have been to lead a crusade against the Moslem world, carving out an empire in North Africa and removing the Turkish menace from the Mediterranean Sea. In 1570 the Turks captured Cyprus, a base from which they might speedily reduce all Christian outposts in the eastern Mediterranean. In this crisis a league was formed by Venice, the papacy, and Spain, and a fleet was gathered in the ports of Sicily. With three hundred ships and a hundred thousand soldiers and sailors under his command, Don John of Austria, Philip's half-brother, sailed eastward to seek out the Turkish forces. The two fleets met at Lepanto, near the western entrance of the Gulf of Corinth. They were not unequal in size and strength. Fortified by fasting and prayers and inspired by the sacred banner of the pope, the allied forces inflicted upon the enemies of Christendom a decisive defeat (1571). But it was not followed up. Venice made a separate peace, and Philip recalled his men and ships. The Turkish advance had been checked but not reversed.

Philip II and Europe

From the congenial occupation of hammering infidels King Philip turned to political and religious problems in western Europe. Mary Tudor died in 1558 and was succeeded by Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, the hated rival of Mary's mother. That Elizabeth's religious policy would be Protestant seemed founded on the logic of history, though Philip was at first unwilling to accept this conclusion and even offered Elizabeth his hand in marriage. In 1562 civil war broke out in France between Huguenots and Catholics, the first of a series of eight wars which occupied the next thirty years. Philip's gratification over this neutralizing of his greatest political rival was tempered by his concern for the French Catholics. Though obliged to pay close attention to the course of the conflict, he managed to avoid large-scale intervention until its later years. Most troublesome of all his problems was the revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands. To the suppression of this movement he bent all of his energies for three decades. English aid to the Dutch became so important and so open, and the poaching and piratical enterprises of English sea captains so damaging to Spanish trade, that the reduction of England at last became in Philip's estimation an end in itself as well as an essential preliminary to the pacification of the Netherlands. The assembling of an "invincible Armada" was undertaken, and in 1588 it sailed northward from Lisbon. Crowded with soldiers as it was, the Armada was to take on board yet more thousands of Spanish veterans at some port in the Netherlands. It was the opinion of Europe that the Spanish conquest of England would be easy. As we shall see, Philip failed to conquer England,

to suppress the Dutch revolt, or to profit by his intervention in the affairs of France. The story of these failures constitutes the record of international history in the second half of the sixteenth century.

King Philip, in his Dutch, English, and French wars, regarded himself as the champion of Catholicism against the heretics of Europe. It was God's cause, and Philip accepted his reverses and final failure as the will of God. Bearing his last illness with dignity and fortitude, he died at seventy-one, an advanced age for those days.

Decline of Spain

The close of Philip II's reign marks the end of the great age of Spain, though this fact was concealed from Europe by the aura of glamour which continued to surround the Spanish dynasty and Spanish civilization. Philip III (1598-1621) was a man whose piety was matched by his indolence. Seldom doing anything bad, he never did anything good. The direction of affairs fell into the hands of professional courtiers of mediocre ability. In international affairs this king enjoyed smooth sailing. England made peace in 1603 and was neutralized for some years by the prospect of a marriage alliance. French revival was checked when the brilliant Henry IV was assassinated in 1610. The new king of France, Louis XIII, a royal do-nothing, married a daughter of Philip III. Even in the Dutch revolt a breathing spell offered itself at length in a truce signed in 1609. Just before the death of the third Philip, however, war broke out in Germany. Both family and religious interests constrained the Spanish king to take an active hand in this conflict. The policy was continued by Philip IV (1621-1665), who, though more energetic than his father, had no political ability and left the direction of affairs to others. The wastage of Spanish resources in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) accomplished the final ruin of Spain.

Incidental to this war was the renewal of the Dutch war in 1621, which ended in the acknowledgment of Dutch independence in 1648. In 1640 Portugal threw off Spanish dominance in a revolt which lasted three hours. In 1635 Richelieu led France into the general war on the side opposed to Spain, and in 1659 Philip IV acknowledged defeat in the Peace of the Pyrénées, which "rectified" the frontier in the Pyrenees, Alps, and Vosges in France's favor. Philip IV, an intelligent patron of the arts and letters, viewed the cumulative reverses of his reign with dignified detachment.

Political events outline and give dramatic emphasis to the decline of Spain, but economic trends and mistaken economic policies explain to a considerable degree its causes. For some years the flow of bullion from the

mines of Mexico and Peru had made the financing of dynastic enterprises a simple matter. Toward the end of the sixteenth century this stream of treasure from the New World underwent a substantial diminution. Furthermore, some of the effects of a large supply of gold and silver from America were adverse. The sharp and sudden rise of prices and wages brought economic dislocation to Spanish industry. Spanish textiles, for example, even with the aid of a tariff could not compete with the products of French, English, and Flemish looms. In the city of Seville the sixteen thousand looms of the days of Charles V had shrunk to four hundred at the death of Philip II. Internal tariffs, and a sales tax sometimes as high as 20 per cent, further handicapped Spanish industries. We shall not be surprised to learn that by the end of the seventeenth century Spain supplied her own colonies with barely 5 per cent of the articles of manufacture they required from Europe. Spain utterly failed, industrially, to profit by the fact that she had the richest empire in the world.

Spanish financial policy remained medieval. Philip II understood the value of a sound currency and fought for it, but his successors did not. The ministers of Philip III extracted the silver from the currency and then gave each coin a value double that specified on its face. Small wonder that shortly after the death of Philip III bankers were charging interest on advances to the government at the rate of 70 per cent.

The decline in agriculture was less sharp than in industry, but it was persistent. A diminishing population helps to explain the untilled fields, and so also do the special privileges granted in that age to sheep owners. Organized in a powerful association known as the Mesta, the sheep owners had persuaded the government to lend its aid in keeping a vast tract of land, stretching right across the country from south to north, free from zones of cultivation which would interfere with the annual migration of their sheep. The Mesta also encouraged the importation of wheat, rather than its domestic production, and the buying of textiles abroad in order to increase the foreign consumption of Spanish wool. The fact that about one sixth of the soil of Spain was owned by the church was also a powerful influence toward a static condition of agriculture. Among other factors which contributed to agricultural stagnation were heavy taxes and the maintenance of large estates through the custom of primogeniture.

There was a marked decline in the population of Spain during the century following the death of Philip II. Authorities have estimated this decline at one quarter to one third. The wastage of man power in war was one factor, perhaps a small one. The worsening economic situation was a more important cause. Young men, facing hard times, were likely to postpone or forego marriage and instead enter the clergy or migrate

to America. A contributing element in the decline of population was the expulsion, in 1609, of the Moriscos, the descendants of baptized Moors. Disliked by those not as industrious or as prosperous as themselves and suspected of religious hypocrisy in a land where heresy was identified with treason, the Moriscos had suffered many handicapping persecutions before their final expulsion. Deported to the shores of Africa, the Moriscos died of starvation, for the most part, or as Christians were massacred by the Moslems. The commissioners who supervised the deportation recorded the total number of victims, excluding babes in arms, as 101,694. This figure may be nearer the truth than the traditional estimate of 500,000. The Moriscos had been engaged chiefly in agriculture and silk weaving, and their expulsion is one of the definite causes of Spain's decline.

Finally, it is to be feared that the Spaniards of the seventeenth century were not very industrious. The nobility regarded physical labor as degrading, and the number of Spanish nobles great and small was excessive—four times, it is said, the total in France, a much more populous country. The government of Spain, in a vain effort to balance its budget, encouraged the prevailing craze for titles by selling them. The elegant and idle gentleman was the social ideal of all classes. Thousands loafed while honest jobs went begging. To get on the government payroll was one way of living like a gentleman in comparative idleness, and one in every five of the entire population was able to solve his problems in that way. Spain was not well fitted to play the great part in Europe which she had assumed. For several generations she had lived beyond her means.

Spanish Literature and Art

During her period of European supremacy Spain made contributions to civilization of great and lasting value. Spanish prestige was then high in the world of literature and art no less than in the world of war and politics. Understandably enough, Catholic Europe looked to Spain as its prime source of devotional literature, of which the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola is the supreme example. The writings of Saint Teresa and of Luis de Granada were scarcely less popular. More than two thousand devotional writers of the period have been identified, so passionate was the loyalty of the Spaniards to their church.

The Shakespeare of Spain was Cervantes (Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, 1547-1616), whose *Don Quixote* is even more widely read today than during the lifetime of its author. In form the work is the story of the adventures of an over-romantic and over-chivalrous nobleman and of his prosaic squire Sancho Panza. In substance it is a panorama of Spanish life in the sixteenth century in which all types are passed in review, "nobles,

knights, poets, courtly gentlemen, priests, traders, farmers, barbers, muleteers, scullions, and convicts." Cervantes had had a considerable experience of life, having been at Lepanto, where he was in the thick of the fight, receiving three gunshot wounds, and having spent five years as a Moslem slave in Algiers. Qualities which give *Don Quixote* its universal appeal are its variety of incident and its humor, pathos, and sympathy with human imperfections.

Lope de Vega (Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, 1562–1635) was a writer whose literary genius was universal. Some five hundred of his works survive, chiefly dramas, but his output was as varied as it was prolific. Many of his plays were religious and many of his plots were taken from the Bible. His works were very popular in his own lifetime, partly because they dealt with themes, incidents, and personalities which were essentially Spanish. Calderón (Pedro Calderón de la Barca, 1600–1681) was the last of the great writers of Spain's golden age. He was a dramatist whose output, though uneven, was often highly finished. He lacked the fertility of imagination of Lope de Vega, nor did he indulge in dramatic experimentation as the latter had done. Like him, however, Calderón was purely Spanish in his literary tastes.

Some of the best painting in the world was done in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. The first of the great Spanish painters was a Greek, from the isle of Crete, named Domenico Theotocopuli (1548–1614), commonly called El Greco. Migrating to Venice, then overlord of Crete, El Greco became the pupil of Tintoretto. Settling finally in Toledo, El Greco devoted himself chiefly to religious subjects, portraying Christ and His disciples as a group no less than thirteen times. Spanish-born and greatest of all Spanish painters was Velasquez (1599–1660). He became court painter and lifelong friend of King Philip IV, and was the glory of the reign of that not greatly distinguished monarch, whom he painted twenty-six times. Of serene disposition and industrious habits, Velasquez painted what he saw without comment. A supreme colorist, his technical skill has never been surpassed. His best known work is the "Maids of Honor," a marvellous composition showing the infanta, her ladies in waiting with dwarfs and servants, and the king and queen, with the painter himself looking on. Murillo (1617–1682) established a type of religious painting for the baroque church, too sentimental for the taste of some. He made more than twenty portrayals of the Immaculate Conception. Not so well known are his many studies, very faithful and genuine, of street urchins.

In the Spanish Netherlands, art flowered profusely in the person of Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Brought up by the Jesuits, Rubens settled at Antwerp, where he labored prodigiously and lived magnificently, for

he made a fortune. Master of seven or eight languages, he traveled much in the interest of his sovereign, striving to re-establish peace between England and Spain. When at home he rose at five to attend Mass and then painted feverishly till dusk. About four thousand canvasses are attributed to his studio, the work of the master himself or of his assistants, whose work Rubens always retouched. His preference was for an exuberant, voluptuous type of beauty, exemplified by the plump blonde girl of sixteen whom he married as his second wife when he was fifty-five. His style has been described as "fleshly and upholstered." Both as a painter and in his way of life Rubens personified the baroque period in which he lived. A great painter himself, he was also an intelligent collector of the masterpieces of others. In his gallery when he died were nine paintings by Titian. All the monarchs of Europe sent their agents to the ensuing sale.

The political and economic decline of Spain was followed by a lapse into cultural mediocrity as well. Recovery has been slow and incomplete. It was a century after Calderón and Murillo before Spain produced another writer or artist of note. Her universities remained as numerous as ever, but their curriculum and spirit was medieval. Intellectual adventure was a perilous enterprise in a land where the sleepless vigilance of the Inquisition was backed by the will of the whole Spanish people.

CHAPTER VI

Founding of the Dutch State

THE NETHERLANDS consisted of seventeen provinces, roughly coinciding with the Belgium and Holland of today, which had been assembled as a political unit in the fifteenth century by the French dukes of Burgundy. They still formed a part of the Holy Roman Empire. We have observed how this bundle of provinces passed to the house of Hapsburg and, upon the division of that house in 1555, to the Spanish branch. Each province had a government of its own, and the union was little more than formal, the provincial delegates assembling as a States-General at rare intervals. Racially and linguistically the people of the Netherlands were diverse. Those living near the French border spoke a Romance dialect known as Walloon; those occupying the central provinces spoke Flemish, a Germanic tongue; still farther north the people spoke another Germanic dialect called Dutch. The Netherlands comprised one of the most populous and prosperous areas in all Europe, an area at once pastoral, agricultural, industrial, and commercial. About a quarter of the whole region—all the land west of a line passing through Dordrecht and Utrecht—was below the level of the sea, and the altitude of much of the rest was less than a yard. The land below sea level had been won from the sea by the indomitable courage and unflagging energy of the lowlanders during the later middle ages. Indeed, this work is still going on, and the Dutch have become the most skillful water engineers in the world. They have recently brought to completion the greatest single project they have undertaken in their entire history, the draining of the Zuider Zee. This shallow salt-water basin was the work of a single great storm in the thirteenth century which broke through the sea dikes. A new province has thus been added to the Dutch state, affording a home for half a million people.

The labor involved in bringing such land to agricultural uses may be faintly realized if we know that land that has been under salt water must be drained to a depth of eighteen inches before it will grow grass fit for pasture, and to twice that depth before it is fit for cultivation. The Dutch dairy industry, still world-famous, flourishes, therefore, in the lowest of the lowlands. Intensive farming and gardening are possible farther inland. With numerous harbors and with rivers stretching into the interior of the

continent, it is not strange that the Netherlands became the seat of important industries and of a thriving commerce. The cities of Flanders had maintained practically a monopoly of Europe's textile industry in the later middle ages, each major city being known for its speciality. England, chief supplier of raw wool to the Flemish textile workers, was the "Australia of the middle ages." There were about two hundred walled cities in the Netherlands at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The total population of the seventeen provinces was close to three million.

Protestantism in the Netherlands

First Lutheranism and then Calvinism won converts among the Netherlanders. Owing in part to the industrial character of the people and their self-governing tastes, it was the faith of John Calvin that caught on most quickly. As lord of the Netherlands and a good Catholic, Charles V had concerned himself with the growing heresy, when he could find time, and in 1550 had directed his officials "to exterminate the root and ground of this pest." The persecutions which preceded and followed this edict were not light, but no organized protest ensued. Charles was himself a Netherlander, spoke several of the dialects of the provinces, and respected their self-governing ways. He was far too busy to give his policy of extermination any real attention, however, and Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, spread like wildfire throughout the cities of the Lowlands. As elsewhere, the exploited masses were especially susceptible to the more radical emphases of the Calvinistic gospel, and before long iconoclastic riots broke out in the streets of the southern cities and then spread to the north. In Brussels, for example, the mob burst into the cathedral waving their torches, pulling down tapestries and paintings, smashing stained-glass windows, and destroying images. "It looked like hell" was the succinct comment of an Englishman who happened to witness the scene.

Spanish Rule

Meanwhile political discontent had been added to religious disorder. When the Netherlands passed to Spain at the retirement of Charles V, they came under the rule of an alien monarch who, after 1559, was also an absentee. Philip II was a Spaniard whose only idea of ruling the Netherlands was to treat them as Spanish provinces. This called for a succession of Spanish regents who should take their orders from Madrid, who should be supported by Spanish soldiers, as many as might be needed, and who should enforce in detail the political, religious, and economic policies which had become traditional in Spain. It is surely not strange

that Philip's Spanish way of governing the Netherlands roused quick and emphatic protest (1563).

The anti-Spanish protest did not proceed from a senseless and destructive mob; it was the work of a group of the greatest nobles of the land, Protestant and Catholic alike, and was couched in proper constitutional form. The leader of the group, and the greatest of the nobles in every sense, was William of Orange (1533-1584). He was a German by birth, and his family had taken its name from a small principality in the south of France. Count William had extensive personal holdings in the Netherlands. Like many another expatriate he attained his real fame in the land of his adoption. A Catholic at the time of the initial protest of the nobles, William the Silent, as he is better known, became successively a Lutheran and a Calvinist. In truth, like Queen Elizabeth of England and Henry IV of France, he was politically minded, even believing that religious problems might best be solved by mutual toleration. It was his dream to drive the Spanish out of the Netherlands, at the same time uniting the seventeen provinces into a nation-state.

The Spanish king's first governor of the Netherlands had been Margaret, duchess of Parma, a natural daughter of Charles V by a Flemish mistress. Well disposed but fumbling and uncertain, Margaret failed to end disorder or to silence protests. In 1567, therefore, Philip replaced her by the duke of Alva, a Spanish noble of his own stamp. He it was who entered Brussels in the following year at the head of a well-equipped army, with instructions to crush the rebels and stamp out heresy. The Inquisition was set up in every province and soon began to grind out victims. On a single day, and at the same hour, 1500 men were executed. The most conservative estimate of Alva's victims in the six years of his regime is 6000. He also gave the Netherlanders a taste of Spanish finance by levying a sales tax of 10 per cent which nearly destroyed business. Cities which resisted were taken by storm and then punished by the levy of huge indemnities. Alva's policy had, as was natural, the opposite effect of that he was seeking. William the Silent openly raised the standard of revolt, and not a few were bold enough to rally to it.

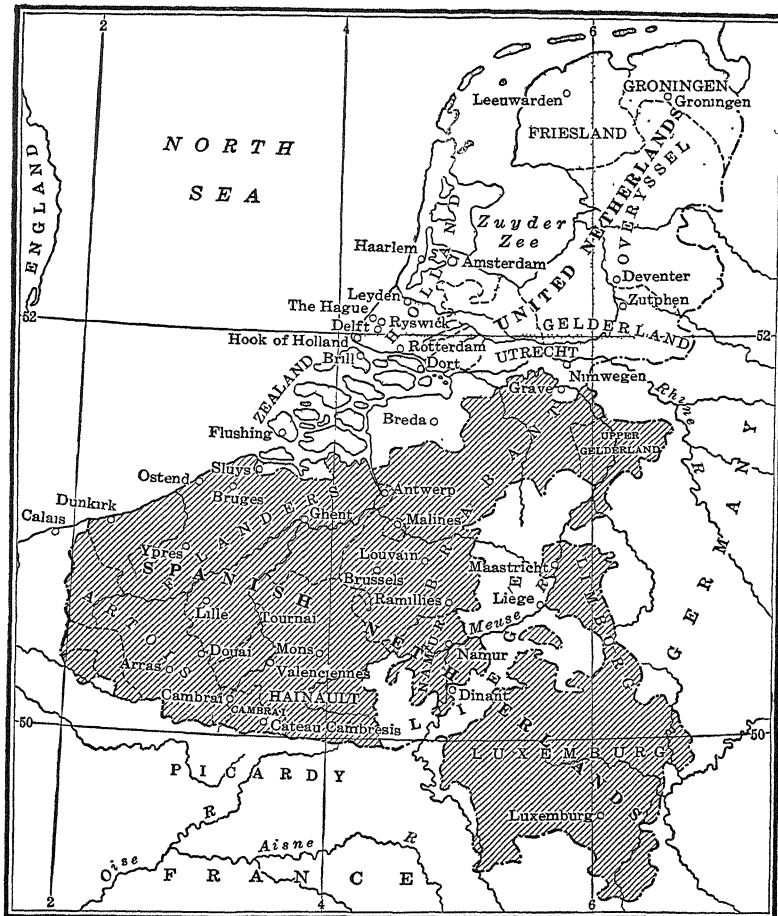
Revolt; the Union of Utrecht

The contest which ensued dragged out its weary length through forty years, as memorable and heroic a struggle as was ever maintained in the cause of liberty. It has frequently been compared with the war waged by the Americans for independence from England, and there is certainly a surface similarity. A conspicuous difference, however, is the brutality, not all on one side, with which the earlier contest was carried on, a brutality

that sprang in part from religious fanaticism. American history has nothing to compare with the callous offer by Philip II of 25,000 crowns in gold and a patent of nobility for the assassination of the Dutch hero. Nor can we parallel the crime of Antwerp (1576), the "Spanish Fury," where the Spanish soldiery, riotous and unruly, murdered 8000 citizens in an orgy of destructiveness which brought the prosperity of Europe's greatest city to an end.

William's hope of driving the Spanish from a united Netherlands was doomed to failure. A line of cleavage appeared marking off the northern provinces from those of the south. One basis of this division was religion. In the southern provinces the landed nobility, both lay and ecclesiastical, were more numerous and more wealthy than in the more industrial and commercial north. Calvinism's democratic emphasis was as distasteful to the landed magnates of the south as it was appealing to the northern burghers. It became apparent that a Calvinist party dominated the north, whereas in the south the Catholics were in a majority. Refugees from each section sought asylum in the other. Thus was the fissure widened. Military considerations had something to do with it also. Northern provinces like Holland and Zealand, with their huge sea dikes, were practically moated fortresses, difficult even to approach, for the Dutch sailors were in command of all the waterways. In the more open country of the south, however, the Spanish infantry employed with confidence and success the methods which had made it Europe's finest weapon. A line of demarcation was finally drawn in 1579 when ten southern provinces in the Union of Arras agreed to submit to King Philip; they became known as the Spanish Netherlands. Later in the same year the seven northern provinces formed the Union of Utrecht. On July 26, 1581, the "Seven United Provinces" declared their independence from Spain. Each province was to determine its own form of worship, but there should be freedom of conscience in all.

William the Silent had long been convinced that any hope of securing Dutch independence against the mighty power of Spain lay in the possibility of enlisting one of the powers of Europe on the Dutch side. Accordingly he offered the crown of Holland to Elizabeth of England and, successively, to each of the French kings. Elizabeth, careful of her public relations with Spain, maintained the strictest official neutrality, while privately supplying the Dutch with money and allowing their ships to enter her harbors. The French monarchy, prostrated by a series of civil wars, could pursue no national policy of any kind. A promise of assistance from French Huguenots early in the war was rendered impossible of fulfillment by the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572). But Philip of Spain had his troubles too. Don John of Austria, named governor in 1576



THE NETHERLANDS AT THE TRUCE OF 1609

(Alva retired in 1573), began to develop a line of his own. His plan was to rouse the Catholic party in England, place Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne, and having married her, himself become king of England. Needless to say, this harebrained scheme, troublesome though it was for a time, came to nothing. In the meantime the life of William the Silent was under constant menace. Having sacrificed the whole of his considerable fortune in the cause, he lived among the devoted Hollanders as simply as any citizen, his latchstring always out. One would-be assassin, pretending to present a petition, fired his pistol at point-blank range. The ball entered William's head at the right ear and came out at the left jaw. It was a near thing and the Dutch were wild with joy when their leader

recovered. A few years later (1584), William was shot dead. He was buried in the church at Delft while "children cried in the streets."

William left a tradition of heroic and self-effacing devotion which has been an inspiration to generations of Dutchmen. What was even more to the point at the moment was that William left a son who proved to be as good a diplomat as William and a decidedly better soldier. His name was Maurice of Nassau. His success in forging an army that could beat the Spanish in the open field stamps him as the greatest military commander of the age. As Spanish military supremacy began to wane, so did her naval supremacy. Elizabeth's aid to the Dutch became bolder; Philip finally gave up his plan of finishing them off first and launched his Armada against England. Its failure was as encouraging to the Dutch as it was discouraging to Philip. Then came the long-hoped-for event that spelled success for the Dutch cause. France was herself again, united under a new king to whom religion meant little and the nation much. Resuming the national policy abandoned at Cateau-Cambr sis, Henry IV declared war on Spain (1595) and in the following year formed with Holland and England a triple alliance. The weight of this hostile combination slowly made itself felt, and in 1609 Spain agreed to a truce which was, for practical purposes, a recognition of Dutch independence.

Dutch Pre-eminence

The little state which thus became a member of the European society of nations was remarkable from the start. Its area was small and its national resources limited, but the Dutch put what they had to excellent use. A policy of toleration made of their land an asylum in Europe for religious minorities—English Catholics and Puritans, Spanish Jews, Flemish Protestants, and French Huguenots. Many of these people were skilled artisans. Holland became a European center for such highly skilled crafts as that of the clock and instrument maker, the lens grinder, and the diamond cutter. Since there was no censorship, Holland became the publishing center of Europe. Many an author found in Holland a publisher for a book banned in his native land; there remained the exciting job of smuggling copies across the border and securing their illegal circulation. Refugee scholars helped to make the University of Leyden the foremost institution of learning in Europe.

Dutch shipbuilders standardized their methods, imported timber from Scandinavia, and built large seaworthy ships which quickly captured the bulk of the carrying trade of Europe. The trade of the Baltic, the herring trade of the North Sea, and the spice trade of Lisbon were some of their more important conquests. It is estimated that Dutch shipping in

the first half of the seventeenth century more than equaled the total shipping of all the rest of Europe, and that the output of Dutch shipyards exceeded two thousand vessels annually. Seeking the cheapest labor market, the Dutch recruited sailors of every nationality.

First sea power of the world, Holland became the leading money power. Amsterdam displaced Antwerp as Europe's principal city, the Dutch completing the ruin of the latter by blocking its harbor with barges loaded down with stone. The Bank of Amsterdam, founded in 1609, was the largest financial institution yet known. Of great convenience to Dutch merchants, whose varied enterprises brought to their coffers the coins of all nations, the bank was a favored bank of deposit for foreign governments, each of which sought to maintain there as large a reserve as possible. The Bourse of Amsterdam, founded in 1611, like a modern stock exchange facilitated the financing of industrial and commercial enterprises. Of the caliber of Dutch finance it is sufficient to say that Holland was the only state of Europe which was continuously solvent throughout the seventeenth century.

The "one master passion" of the Dutch, says the historian Motley, was the "instinct of self-government." The form of the government, however, might seem to be little suited to serve the nation, whether in peace or war. Each of the seven tiny provinces had its own elective assembly and stadtholder, or executive; each also chose representatives to an assembly of delegates of the United Provinces. This assembly dealt in the main with foreign relations, electing a captain general of the armed forces and an admiral general of the fleet. A loose confederation, seemingly designed for endless postponement of business, the government of the United Provinces really functioned promptly and well. For one thing, Holland was incomparably the greatest province in population, in resources, and in the character of its leaders. Amsterdam, Leyden, even Utrecht, the capital of the United Provinces, were all on the soil of Holland. More important still was the acknowledged pre-eminence of the house of Orange. Through three generations (1580-1650) this family held none but elective offices; but such was the confidence of the Dutch people in its public spirit and ability that the members of the house of Orange were regularly elected to most of the high offices of state. This gave a unity and continuity to public policy which could have been secured in no other way.

Dutch painting of the seventeenth century was as exceptional as was the Dutch government. Strenuously Protestant, the Dutch had banished religious art from their homes and churches. Bourgeois and republican, they had tastes in secular art which were completely at variance with those of the aristocrats to whom artists had formerly looked for com-

CHAPTER VII

France: Civil War and Recovery

WHILE VERY FAR from having made a conquest of France, the Huguenots were sufficiently numerous at the time of the Council of Trent, and had sufficient resources at their command, to be able to give a good account of themselves should the Catholics of France decide upon their extirpation. Had a great statesman ascended the throne of France in 1560, one of the bitterest and most disastrous chapters of French history might have remained unwritten; in England at least one fourth of the population was Catholic and yet Elizabeth avoided a civil war. Instead, the worst possible fortune befell as three of the feeblest monarchs in the long annals of the French monarchy followed one another in close succession. Francis II, sixteen years old and an invalid, reigned a little over a year (1560). His brother, Charles IX (1560-1574), a lad of ten, proved to be tubercular and died in his early twenties. Still another brother, Henry III (1574-1589), was a youthful degenerate who wore earrings and a pearl necklace and consorted with a group of wastrels who could give even the king lessons in degeneracy.

Catholics *versus* Huguenots

In the irrepressible conflict which ensued, both Catholics and Huguenots fought for control of the crown and thus for mastery of France. One might look upon the two religious groups as political parties seeking to control the national administration, except that the French parties made use of methods ordinarily absent from even the most bitter political controversies. The leaders of the Catholic party throughout the period of nearly forty years were members of the Guise family. Tracing its descent from Charlemagne, this family, though it could not boast close relationship to the house of Valois, wielded great power and influence throughout the north of France. The current duke of Guise became the idol of the nation when he captured Calais (1558). His brother was the archbishop of Rheims, a cardinal, and France's premier churchman. A sister had married James V of Scotland and was the mother of Mary, queen of Scotland, who became for a moment queen of France. The wealth of

the Guises and their interest in the religious question may be judged from the fact that there were fifteen bishoprics in the family. On the Huguenot side the most important leaders were members of the Bourbon family. Anthony de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, and in the right of his wife king of Navarre, was ninth in descent from Louis IX and, upon failure of direct heirs among the Valois, next in line for the throne. When he was struck down in one of the early battles of the civil wars, leadership of the party passed to a younger brother, Louis, prince of Condé. Anthony's place in the succession to the throne was taken by his son, Henry of Navarre. Of greater practical value to the Huguenots than the leadership of the Bourbons, however, was the military ability and staunch loyalty of a great French nobleman named Coligny, hereditary Admiral of France.

History seldom resolves itself into a struggle between two well-defined parties, however. There was in France a middle of the road party also, which tried to hold the balance between Catholics and Protestants with a view to preserving the French monarchy and nation. To this group belonged the mother of the three boy kings, Catherine de' Medici. Like other Italian aristocrats of the period, Catherine loved art in all its forms and was a lavish and intelligent patron, especially of the artists of her native Italy. Catherine was an Italian of the period also in her purely political view of public questions, her entire unscrupulousness, and her wholehearted pursuit of private vengeance. One of the queen mother's most effective political weapons was a flying squadron of beautiful but unprincipled ladies whose charms were employed to seduce the leaders of the opposition. Machiavelli had dedicated his book to Catherine's father, and her policy was "Machiavellianism put into action." Plain of feature, very fat, and short of sight, she could see clearly enough what her primary objective was. "I am resolved," she wrote, "to seek by all possible means to preserve the authority of the king my son in all things." Written of her first son, it still held true of her third, whom she preceded in death by only a few months. As between Catholics and Huguenots the queen mother had no preference; her policy for the most part was to keep the peace.

There were other middle of the road leaders whose views were more broadly national, and both Protestants and Catholics were represented among them. Of these the most noteworthy was the Huguenot Coligny. He felt that civil strife was preventing France from playing the part in Europe and the New World which her national interest required. He called for a settlement of the religious question on the basis of toleration for Huguenots, to be followed by a declaration of war on Spain in which the Dutch, the English, and possibly the Turks might join. Hoping to break

through the Spanish monopoly, Coligny sent out colonists to the New World at his own expense, one group going to Brazil (1553) and another to Florida (1562). Both projects failed; but French sailors, chiefly Huguenots, harassed Spanish trade and plundered Spanish settlements in the Caribbean for many years. The region on the American mainland round about Port Royal, Coligny's second colonial settlement, was christened Carolina in honor of the French king Charles IX. A great Catholic noble, Anne, duke of Montmorency, supported Coligny's views at times. Religious animosity being what it was, however, there was scarcely room in France for a third party.

Catherine de' Medici; St. Bartholomew's Day

As regent for the boy king Charles IX, Catherine began by allowing the Huguenots the right of public worship in certain specified places (Edict of Toleration, 1562). Such was the inflamed state of opinion, however, that this sensible measure was rejected with scorn by both parties. Only the suffering of eight civil wars, waged with a ferocity scarcely paralleled, convinced Frenchmen that room must be made for more than one variety of religious opinion and practice. The wars began when, in the very year of the edict, armed retainers of the duke of Guise slaughtered a group of Huguenots found worshipping in a barn at Vassy. It would be idle to follow the course of the strife in any detail. Financial exhaustion, the death of a leader, or a recurring sense that the unity of France must not be further imperiled would bring a brief cessation of conflict and an attempt to arrive at a satisfactory compromise. So long as the spirit of compromise was lacking, however, a breakdown of negotiations was always inevitable. Another war would follow. Both sides sought foreign aid, the Catholics from Spain, and the Huguenots from England. Spain sent plenty of gold and, in the end, troops; England, little of either.

That the Huguenots were able not only to survive but even to capture the crown for one brief period is a measure of the strength of their resources and a tribute to their fighting qualities. In 1572, for example, the Huguenot cause was so far advanced that Coligny was able to arrange a marriage between the Protestant Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois, sister of the king. In grave alarm at the waning of her own influence at court, the queen mother called in the Guises and there followed the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Coligny himself was killed together with thousands of his coreligionists throughout France as the Catholic party indulged its blood lust to the full. The head of Coligny was sent to the pope who, happy in the extermination of so many heretics, ordered a medal to be struck. Philip II of Spain commanded a solemn

Te Deum. Elizabeth of England ordered her court into deep mourning, however, and refused to receive the French ambassador.

Huguenot fortunes never rose so high again. Indeed, it was now the turn of the Catholic party. Under the leadership of Henry, duke of Guise, the reactionary Catholics organized a Holy League for the extermination of French Protestants. For some years the League maintained what was practically a rival government and excluded Henry III from his own capital. In a brief display of vigor King Henry feigned reconciliation with the Guises and then secured the assassination of the duke and his brother the cardinal. Joining forces with Henry of Navarre, the King laid siege to Paris, headquarters of the League. While thus engaged, Henry III was assassinated by a Dominican friar for having turned against the League (1589). The succession then passed to Henry of Navarre.

Needless to say, the Catholics would have none of him, and the leaders of that party turned their thoughts to the establishment of a republican regime. But the luck of France had changed. In Henry IV the French people found a man and a statesman. Thirty-five years of age, a skilled commander, and a born leader of men, Henry of Navarre resolved to end the long series of wars that had bled France white and to restore Europe's foremost nation to unity and prosperity. Attacking the Holy League, he urged on his followers with the famous war-cry, "Rally to my white plume; you will find it on the road to victory and honor." Victories did indeed come his way, and in 1591 the new king laid siege to Paris. With desperate courage the Parisians kept their lines intact as Henry settled down to starve them out. Meanwhile, however, a great army of Spanish infantry marched southward from the Netherlands, and Henry was forced to withdraw from Paris. The French king then resolved to conciliate his Catholic subjects, overwhelmingly in the majority, by adopting their religion. Suddenly he announced his conversion (1593). Catholic leaders were unconvinced and the Huguenots were enraged. For the masses of Frenchmen, however, the pope's acceptance of the penitent, soon announced, was sufficient and opposition fell away. To remove all doubt, Henry let it be known that he had touched a few scrofulous persons and healed them, thus proving his divine hereditary right to all the attributes of royalty. Seeking to unite the hearts of all Frenchmen, Henry then declared war on Spain.

Henry IV; Edict of Nantes

Henry IV had a mind singularly clear and realistic in an age when most minds were clouded by religious prejudice. That mind, assisted by unusual physical and nervous energy, he turned to the reconstruction of

France. His first task was to work out a plan under which the Catholic majority would allow the Huguenots to live, and which would at the same time give the Huguenots such a sense of security that they too would agree to lay down their arms and unite with their Catholic neighbors for the betterment of France. That is what the Edict of Nantes (1598) was aimed to do, its provisions drafted after months of laborious negotiations. The edict, then, is not an act of toleration based upon philosophical principles but a treaty between warring factions. In effect the edict set up in France a little Huguenot state, capable of defending itself if need be. More than two hundred fortified towns were to be garrisoned by Huguenot troops at the royal expense. In those towns and in the castles of the Huguenot nobility the public worship of Huguenot congregations was legalized. Huguenots were assured full civil rights throughout France. Their pastors were paid by the state, and Huguenots in turn had to pay tithes to the Catholic clergy and observe all Catholic holidays. This was indeed a forward step in the march toward freedom of religion; but it was a concession to the power of the Huguenots, not an acknowledgment of a right. Under another king less national in viewpoint, more partisanly Catholic, the liberty which the Huguenots had won at such great cost might be withdrawn.

By his conversion and religious settlement Henry had ended the civil wars and rescued his country from almost certain dominance by a foreign power. Then with the statesmanship of genius he undertook the task of reconstructing the political institutions and the economic life of France. To extend the area of fertile soil, marshes were drained and agricultural colonists were assisted to settle. Some of the colonists were from the Netherlands. To facilitate internal trade, a complete system of canals was planned and their construction begun. The domestic manufacture of cloth and glassware was encouraged by high tariffs on competing goods from abroad. The silk industry, destined to become one of her greatest resources in time to come, was now introduced to France. External commerce was fostered by a series of commercial treaties with England, Spain, and Holland. Two attempts were made in Henry's reign to colonize Canada (1604 and 1608). Financial rehabilitation was undertaken with marked success. The king's finance minister was Maximilien de Béthune, duke of Sully, a devoted friend as well as a faithful servant. Sully was able to balance the budget and convert the deficit of 300,000,000 livres (the modern franc) into a surplus of 18,000,000 livres.

Henry IV has the reputation, in French history, of being a special friend of the poor, the advocate of "a chicken in every pot." This is a bit fanciful, perhaps, and may derive from the well-attested fact that he had a full share of the affability, good nature, and familiarity which charac-

terize the people of Gascony. Henry's many, too many, love affairs also seem to have endeared him to the people of France. Politically, however, he was no democrat. His authority was direct and personal, and he brushed aside competing authorities, such as provincial assemblies and urban corporations. In fact, Henry IV restored the authority of the crown and contributed greatly to the absolutist tradition in France.

To re-establish the prestige of France, Henry planned a grand onslaught on Spain and the Hapsburgs, with the Spanish Netherlands and the Rhine as European objectives and a large slice of the Spanish empire as his goal in America. He reorganized the French army, set up a school for officers, raised the pay of the soldiers, and supplied his forces with the best artillery available. His diplomatic preparation also was well advanced when, a belated victim of the gangster spirit he had sought to exorcise, he was struck down by an assassin (1610).

Again a boy king came to the throne with a Medici as his mother, even fatter, though less intelligent, than was the celebrated Catherine. Marie de' Medici established herself as regent for her nine-year-old son Louis XIII. Marie had no political ability whatever. Dismissing Sully, she financed herself for a few years from the surplus he had built up. To check the nobles who had begun to resume their independent ways, Marie summoned the Estates-General, which a century and a half before had fallen into disuse. Unfortunately, this body, combining clergy, nobility, and commons, did not immediately agree upon a program, and Marie, unable to pursue any policy for long, dismissed it (1614). For the space of one hundred and seventy-five years longer the French monarch was destined to rule alone. In foreign relations Marie proved to be equally lacking in intelligence. Reversing Henry IV's national policy, she made peace with Spain, cementing it with a royal marriage, or rather two marriages. Louis XIII married Anne of Austria, a daughter of the king of Spain, and Louis's sister Elizabeth married the heir to the Spanish throne, later Philip IV.

Richelieu

Marie's power for harm ended when her son grew weary of her restraint. Fortunately for France, however, Louis XIII did not choose to remain the active head of the government. His passionate fondness for hunting and his interest in handicrafts took precedence over the public duties of a sovereign. As sometimes happens, a royal minister of great ability was able to win and to keep the confidence of the do-nothing king. For eighteen years (1624-1642) the vast and God-given powers of monarchy in France were actually exercised by Armand du Plessis de Richelieu (1585-1642). Of noble birth, Richelieu abandoned military life in

favor of the family bishopric at the age of twenty-one. As a spokesman for the clergy at the Estates-General of 1614 he succeeded in attracting the attention of the queen. Entering the royal service, he quickly became Secretary of State for War and, through the queen's favor, a cardinal. After Louis XIII's dismissal of the queen mother, Richelieu remained as principal minister of the crown, in reality, the ruler of the state. Of frail physique, Richelieu possessed superior intellect and iron will. In the pursuit of his policies he was unscrupulous and without pity.

With as much resolution as any of the kings of France and with clearer purpose than most of them, Richelieu strove to increase the power of the French monarchy at home and its prestige abroad. "The first thing I considered," he said, "was the majesty of the king; the second was the greatness of the kingdom." His first task was to liquidate the political power of the Huguenots. Disquieted by the marriage of Louis XIII to the Spanish Anne of Austria, the Huguenots began to strengthen their defenses, in case the Edict of Nantes should be broken. Some of the bolder spirits among them, taking advantage of the prevalent unrest, began the organization within France of a "Republic of the Reformed Churches." To Richelieu the existence of a group of Frenchmen in armed possession of two hundred cities and many castles was both anomalous and intolerable. In his decision to break the power of the Huguenots, however, religious intolerance played no part. One by one the cardinal laid siege to the Huguenot fortresses. Strongest of all was the coastal city of La Rochelle. It fell only after a bitter fight lasting fifteen months. In the Edict of Alais (1629) the military and political privileges of the Huguenots were canceled; their continued freedom of worship, however, was guaranteed.

Toward the French nobles, whether Catholic or Protestant, Richelieu was as inexorable as with the Huguenots. The nobility were pretty well out of hand as a result of the religious civil wars. Richelieu ordered their castles dismantled. Only those fortresses should be maintained which were needed for national defense, he argued. To curb their unruly spirits, Richelieu also ordered the nobles to drop private feuds and to refrain entirely from dueling. When they hesitated and murmured against him, Richelieu startled France with executions in which the very greatest were not spared. Indeed, it is estimated that Richelieu imprisoned, banished, or executed about two hundred of the highest nobles of France. He also lessened the importance of the nobility as a military class by developing the infantry service, in which they would not serve. Finally, Richelieu struck a blow at the nobles as governors of provinces by appointing intendants who took over most of their duties. In his later life Richelieu sought to render more permanent the centralizing and absolutist

policies he had so successfully advanced by setting forth his political principles in his *Political Testament* for the guidance of the king after his own death.

Clear cut and forcible as was Richelieu's domestic policy, it had serious defects and there were glaring omissions. The great cardinal had no skill in public finance and no understanding of its importance. He allowed profiteers to collect the land tax at a profit to themselves of 25 per cent, and the salt tax at a profit of 40 per cent. Moreover, one quarter of the entire population continued to be exempt from all taxation. The public lands were sold recklessly and far below their value. The interest on the public debt increased by 1000 per cent during Richelieu's term as chief minister of the crown. In short, the whole evil system of taxation and finance which ultimately led to the collapse of the French monarchy Richelieu condoned and even aggravated. Finally, he had no more notion that the people should share in the government than had his contemporary Charles I of England. Of course we should not be too quick to censure Richelieu for his blindness to free government. It may well be, as one historian says, that "the French people in the seventeenth century were incapable of constitutional development; they did not even desire it."

In his foreign policy Richelieu's success was as great as in his domestic, though this was not perhaps so immediately obvious. Needless to say, he resumed the war with Spain, advancing against the Spanish Netherlands and pressing for a boundary at the Pyrenees which would give France the command of the passes. The fruits of this anti-Spanish policy, however, were gathered by his successor Mazarin. Richelieu's intervention in German affairs was directed toward bringing about such a further weakening of the German Empire as would secure France along the Rhine. This he did, though here again he did not live to see the treaty signed which confirmed his success.

Cardinal Mazarin

In the year following the death of Richelieu Louis XIII also died, leaving the throne to a boy of five. Once more, however, a royal minister was at hand who was able and willing to rule in the king's name, a minister whom Richelieu himself had trained. Cardinal Mazarin was born Giulio Mazarini, in Palermo, Sicily. Richelieu first met him when Mazarin was a young cleric in the service of a great Roman family. Bringing him to France, Richelieu trained Mazarin as his successor. To rule France, however, Mazarin would have to make sure of the favor of the Spanish mother of the boy king, Anne of Austria. The tall and handsome Italian did more than that; he won her love. Mazarin was the real ruler of France from the death of Richelieu in 1643 to his own death in 1661.

Mazarin reaped the fruits of Richelieu's German policy in the Peace of Westphalia and then in 1659 he brought the long Spanish war to a close in the Peace of the Pyrenees, which gave territorial security to France on the south and on the northwest. At home Mazarin was able to hold firm the advances made by Richelieu, but only with difficulty. The nobility, aided by the magistrates of Paris, and sometimes by the mob, rose in a series of insurrections which kept France in turmoil for four years (1648-1652), and on one occasion drove the Spanish-born queen and her Italian "husband" out of France. Elastic and supple, however, where his predecessor had been bold and brilliant, Mazarin sowed dissension in the ranks of his enemies, triumphed at length, and steered the ship of state into quiet waters. The "Fronde," as the insurrections were called (from *les frondeurs*, mudslingers), had an important meaning. In their demand for a share in the government, and particularly for control over finances, the *frondeurs* were in the path of constitutional progress. Since France had no constitution, however, this could not be the path for France. The future Louis XIV witnessed the disorders of the Fronde and he never forgot them. He resolved to rule alone and with a strong hand. Mazarin died March 9, 1661. On March 10 young Louis, in his twenty-third year, made the following announcement to his assembled councilors: "Hitherto I have been right willing to let my affairs be managed by the cardinal; it is time I should now take them into my own hands." Here, for the time being, we may leave the affairs of France.

CHAPTER VIII

Germany and Europe in the Thirty Years' War

THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG was a premature compromise in the religious struggle in Germany. The Protestant movement had not yet spent its force and the Catholic Reformation had not yet got under way. Despite the "ecclesiastical reservation" the Lutheran princes of Germany continued to seize church property. In Saxony alone, following Augsburg, two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics were "secularized," only a fraction of their wealth being reserved even for the use of the Lutheran Church. In Brandenburg a similar process went on, though on a lesser scale. The sweep of Protestantism north of the Main River was so complete that there was only one lay Catholic prince left, the duke of Cleves. More aggressive than Lutheranism in the first decades after 1555 was Calvinism. This faith, it will be recalled, was not officially recognized at Augsburg. It spread with great rapidity, however, among the cities of the Rhineland. In Aachen and Cologne a majority of the townsmen became Calvinist. Refugees from the Spanish Netherlands, settling in the cities of the lower Rhine, strengthened the Calvinist element. Gebhard, archbishop of Cologne, one of the electors and ex officio a great territorial magnate, turned Calvinist in 1583 and, taking a wife, endeavored to transform the lands of the archbishopric into a private principality. Another important convert to Calvinism was the Count Palatine of the Rhine, also one of the electors. Late in the century still another elector, the margrave of Brandenburg, accepted Calvinism for himself and his subjects. Only one of the four lay electors of Germany was still a Catholic, the king of Bohemia, who was also the head of the Austrian Hapsburgs and emperor. An expanding Lutheranism and a militant Calvinism were two factors in the renewal of the German wars of religion.

The Catholic Reformation in Germany

In the meantime Catholicism was on the march. During the last quarter of the sixteenth century the Catholic Reformation entered south Germany in force. It came first in the guise of an educational and spiritual revival and was the work chiefly of Jesuits. The Jesuits established the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, and the princes of the houses of

Bavaria and Hapsburg were Jesuit-trained and leaned heavily on the members of the order for advice in political and religious matters. These princes began by setting their own lands in order, driving out Protestant minorities and confiscating their property.

In their Bohemian lands the Hapsburg princes pursued a modified policy. There they proceeded with caution, for nine tenths of the Bohemians were Protestants. Unluckily, the Bohemian Protestants lived in turmoil, with Lutherans, Calvinists, Hussites, and other sects battling each other. Their one bond of union was Czech nationality and hatred of the Germans—priests, merchants, and officials—who constituted the Catholic tenth of the population. The prevailing hatred of Germans expressed itself among Bohemians in the following saying: "Like a caterpillar in a cabbage, a serpent in the breast, a rat in a granary, a goat in a garden, so in Bohemia the German steals, cheats, and deceives." In 1609 the Bohemian Protestants combined to force their king, the Hapsburger of the moment, to make an official grant of freedom of conscience, the so-called "Letter of Majesty."

The first two emperors following Charles V (Ferdinand I, 1556–1564; Maximilian II, 1564–1576) lived up to the provisions of Augsburg and did not meddle in the religious affairs of the Empire. The third emperor, Rudolph II (1576–1612), had been educated in Spain and was in thorough sympathy with the objectives of the Catholic Reformation, but a mild insanity prevented him from engaging in more than an intermittent activity. One act of his reign had momentous consequences, however, and brought civil war among the Germans a long step nearer. The free city of Donauwörth, on Bavaria's western border in south Germany, was Protestant by a decisive majority. In 1606 some Catholic citizens asked permission of the town council for a religious procession, but were refused. The procession took place nonetheless and was broken up with some violence by the Protestants. The emperor after a hasty investigation condemned the civic authorities of the town and commissioned the Catholic duke of Bavaria, Maximilian, to punish the city. Captured after a stout resistance, Donauwörth was sentenced by the emperor to the loss of its free status and awarded to Bavaria. By this unconstitutional act the German emperor himself broke the truce established at Augsburg. The Protestant states of the Rhine thereupon formed a defensive union (1608) under the leadership of Frederick IV, elector of the Palatinate. The Catholic princes as promptly united in a league led by Maximilian of Bavaria. Both groups sought allies abroad. The cause of the Protestant Union was at once taken up by the formidable Henry IV of France, and it is possible that a general war would have at once ensued had not an assassin struck the French king down (1610).

With the German princes in two armed groups, however, it was obvious that war would break out when public opinion was sufficiently inflamed. An important contributing cause was the "battle of the books" in 1617. This was the centenary year of Luther's Ninety-five theses, and as though by prearrangement theologians and publicists in both camps wrote formal surveys of the "century of progress." The many and recent advances of German Catholicism made it easy for the Catholic protagonists to conclude that Protestantism had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Catholic writers could point also to the deep fissure in the Protestant camp, for the Lutheran princes declined to join the Protestant Union, and the Calvinist professors of Heidelberg assailed the Lutheran professors of Tübingen with as much fury as they displayed against the Catholics themselves.

Revolt in Bohemia

In 1617, the same centenary year, Ferdinand of Styria, cousin of Rudolph II, became head of the house of Hapsburg and thus king of Bohemia. Jesuit-trained, Ferdinand was resolved to uproot every Protestant in his dominions, declaring that he "was ready to perish in the struggle, should that be the will of God." Ferdinand began by expelling from their lands certain Bohemian peasants who refused to attend the Catholic church, and by refusing to grant to the Protestants of a certain village a permit to build a church. These flagrant violations of the Letter of Majesty, which Ferdinand had confirmed upon his accession, roused the Protestants to fury. When Ferdinand rejected their protest and defended his actions, the Protestant leaders entered the castle of Prague and flung two of Ferdinand's regents out of a window into the moat, sixty feet below. This act of violence was followed by the setting up of a "Provisional Government" (1618). The insurrectionists then invited Frederick V, elector of the Palatinate, to be their king. Frederick's acceptance transformed the Bohemian trouble into a war which involved all Germany and, in time, all Europe.

For twelve years, 1618-1630, the war was a religious civil war of a familiar type. The princely participants were willing to do much for the religion they professed, but they expected to be compensated for their trouble. Both the Protestant Union and the Catholic League sought help abroad, the latter with more success than the former. As the son of William the Silent's daughter and the son-in-law of James I of England, Frederick of the Palatinate hoped for the support of both Holland and England. There was, indeed, much sympathy for Frederick in the two countries; but Holland was at war again with Spain, after 1621, and in England the long struggle between king and Parliament was getting under way. Some

help came from Protestant Denmark but it was little and late. On the other hand, Spain's support of the Catholic League was prompt and substantial; a Spanish army from the Netherlands marched up the Rhine to invade the Palatinate. By 1630 the German Catholics with their allies had won the war, and Protestantism as a political force in Germany had been well-nigh swept away. Frederick lost not only Bohemia but his own lands as well. The forfeited Palatinate was bestowed by the emperor, with the title of elector, upon the duke of Bavaria.

Preliminary Victory of the Catholics

The victory of the Catholics in Bohemia and elsewhere had been the work not so much of the Catholic League as of the emperor himself. It may be wondered how Ferdinand, without a treasury and without an army, could play so dominant a role. A man had come forward to offer the emperor an army free of charge, with himself as its commander. That man was Albrecht Wenzel von Waldstein, better known as Wallenstein. A Bohemian noble, originally a Hussite perhaps, Wallenstein was a man of no religion, "unless astrology may be so regarded." Experience in the Turkish wars had developed his military skill, and successful land speculation during the Bohemian persecutions had made him enormously wealthy. Indeed, he was a genius at moneymaking, and war appealed to Wallenstein chiefly as an unparalleled opportunity for profiteering. He proposed to recruit an army of mercenaries and maintain it out of the booty it would capture and the indemnities it could levy. This army, if the emperor would authorize him to recruit it, he would place at the emperor's service.

This offer of assistance was made in 1625. In five years Wallenstein had made of the imperial army a formidable weapon and of the emperor the principal factor in the affairs of the empire. So far the Lutheran princes of Germany had stood aloof from the struggle, content to let the Calvinists take a beating. Invading northern Germany, however, Wallenstein completed the rout of Christian IV of Denmark, and deprived some of the lesser Lutheran princes of their possessions and thoroughly cowed the others. The emperor rewarded Wallenstein with the resounding titles of Prince of Friedland and Admiral of the Baltic. In 1630 the emperor climaxed his successful policy as the German champion of the Catholic Reformation with an Edict of Restitution by which all church lands secularized by Lutherans or Calvinists since 1555 were returned to the Catholic Church.

Well satisfied with the progress of the Catholic cause, the emperor next busied himself with the "reconstruction" of Bohemia. Protestantism

was extirpated. A small "army" of Jesuit, Capuchin, and German "carpetbaggers" systematically destroyed the religious, political, and economic life and resources of the Bohemians. Czech landowners were dispossessed, more than half the land being confiscated and the peasants reduced to serfdom again. In 1632 persecution ceased, for the work was done. The Hussite University of Prague had become a Jesuit stronghold.

But the emperor had overplayed his hand. The princes of Germany, Protestant and Catholic alike, were thoroughly frightened by the specter of a revival of imperial authority. Protestant princes were especially alarmed by the use of the new authority to deprive them of lands held half a century or more. But Catholic princes noted that in many cases recovered lands were going not to their original owners but to the emperor's favorites, the Jesuits. At the Diet of Ratisbon, which met shortly after the issuance of the Edict of Restitution, the Catholic League demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein. Ferdinand, a little afraid of his headstrong and unprincipled commander, agreed.

Intervention of Sweden

The victories of Wallenstein, however, had already set in motion a train of circumstances which carried the conflict out of German hands. A second period of war ensued, 1630-1648, during which the fighting was carried on mainly by Sweden, France, Holland, and Spain. Religious motives, at all times strongly modified by considerations of political advantage, were now completely lost to view in a struggle for power among the states of Europe. Incidentally, and it was but incidental, German Protestantism recovered much of the ground it had lost in 1630.

Sweden now played a great part on the European stage for the first and last time since the days of the Northmen. Poor in resources and with a population of only a million and a half, this little land found in its house of Vasa a family of unusual leaders. They freed Sweden gradually from its economic servitude to the German cities of the Hanscatic League, enlisting Dutch sea power in this enterprise. The glory of the house was Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632), a man who would "stand high in any computation of human excellence." His greatest political ambition was to secure Sweden's predominance in the commerce of the Baltic, to make of the Baltic Sea a "Swedish Lake." Finland, Esthonia, and Livonia were already in hand, but Sweden needed harbors and coastland on the southern shore of the Baltic as well. Gustavus Adolphus continued the alliance with the Dutch, conceding mining rights in Swedish iron ore in return for money and munitions. As a stanch Lutheran of sincere piety, Gustavus was deeply concerned to strike a blow for his fellow Lutherans

in Germany. The appearance of a strong German force in the north was thus a matter of overpowering interest to the Swedish monarch. Learning that Wallenstein had laid siege to Stralsund at the mouth of the Oder (1630), he decided upon intervention.

In two years the Swedish king, with but little help from the self-centered Lutheran princes of Germany, completely reversed the position of the religious parties at the time of the Edict of Restitution and his army entered the capital of Bavaria. Wallenstein was recalled only to be beaten. Gustavus's next campaign, without a doubt, would have carried him to Vienna. The Swedish army was made up of conscripts, not mercenaries. It was splendidly drilled, equipped, and led. Gustavus had put his soldiers into uniform as an aid to discipline. Swedish muskets were of an improved type, lighter and more easily fired than most contemporary weapons. The units of infantry were smaller and thus more mobile than his opponents. Swedish artillery had been adapted to field service. Above all, Gustavus, by sharing their hardships and their risks, inspired in his followers a fanatical devotion that could not be matched in the other armies of the day. His victories at Breitenfeld (1631), on the Lech (1632), and finally at Lützen (1632) were decisive and clear cut. At Lützen, however, the Swedish leader, mistaking enemy troops for his own, was surrounded and, despite victory on the field, mortally wounded.

Gustavus's daughter Christina and his minister Oxenstiern saw to it that Swedish policy did not collapse, though the period of swift aggression was at an end. Catholic France led by Cardinal Richelieu had been a heavy financial backer of Swedish intervention from the start. With the relaxing of the Swedish effort, French soldiers as well as French gold were sent into Germany as Richelieu sought profit for France out of her neighbor's long drawn out agony.

Destructive Character of the War

We need not concern ourselves further with the German policies of France, Sweden, Holland, and Spain at this point. Germany had become little more than a battleground of the nations, all consideration of her welfare lost to view. The German people could only pray that by some miracle the conflict might end before German civilization had been blasted utterly from the soil.

Wallenstein gave the war an unusually destructive nature by allowing his army to live off the land and by sharing with his soldiers the booty taken from the sack of cities. Other commanders followed suit, and the rank and file pillaged, ravaged, and looted with or without orders. An eyewitness of the war says that the life of the soldier was one of "gluttony

and drunkenness, hunger and thirst, wenching and dicing and playing, rioting and roaring, murdering and slaying and being slain . . ." When Magdeburg, a thriving commercial city, was taken by assault in 1621, "an orgy of rape, murder, and robbery ended only when the city was in flames and more than 20,000 persons had perished." Scores of cities were reduced to half their population in the closing years of the war; hundreds of villages were without inhabitants. Great trees were weighted down by the human bodies suspended from their branches. Famine became chronic after the repeated destruction of crops and the slaughter of livestock, and peasants were found dead with grass in their mouths.

In Germany as a whole the population declined from twenty-one millions to about thirteen. A third of the land lay uncultivated for years. Learning, art, and literature vanished from a land which had shared with Italy the cultural leadership of Europe. The German language became so corrupt, so full of barbarisms, that even in the eighteenth century educated Germans preferred to write in French or Latin. It is estimated that the advance of German civilization in general was delayed by at least a century. These sufferings of the German people, this savage blow at German culture, were the result of a war whose very issues had been lost to view in a general free-for-all among the states of Europe.

Peace of Westphalia

The Peace of Westphalia ending the war was finally signed in 1648. As early as 1641 delegates from France, Sweden, and the Empire had agreed to hold a peace conference to which all interested parties should be invited. It took two years to get the various delegations together; the ensuing discussions lasted five years more. Negotiations had been delayed and, once begun, were prolonged by ridiculous points of national honor and diplomatic procedure. France and Spain were determined not to yield to each other in precedence, though a compromise was at last agreed to. Sweden refused to the last to yield priority to the French, however, and delegates of the two countries remained throughout in different though adjacent cities. The republic of Holland demanded a place at the conference equivalent in honor to that of the republic of Venice. The pope refused to send a representative to the conference at all, and at its close declined to accept its decisions.

Let us first review the religious provisions of the Peace of Westphalia. The principle of Augsburg was reaffirmed, with the important addition that Calvinism was recognized. Each German prince, consequently, was now free to choose among three faiths. With regard to the ecclesiastical states, it was decided that all church property in Protestant hands on

January 1, 1624, was to remain there. This meant that Protestantism had made a clean sweep of episcopal and monastic lands in northern Germany. The political supremacy of Protestantism north of the Main was thus assured. In the proceedings of the imperial Diet Protestants and Catholics were to have equal rights.

In political matters, also, important decisions were made in the Peace of Westphalia. Each German prince was given authority to conduct his government as he pleased, even to the point of pursuing an independent foreign policy so long as this was not directed against the emperor or the Empire. Thus, though the form of Empire remained, all authority now departed from it and Germany was for the future merely a loose league of states. Some of these states no longer followed a German policy. Others were not German in any sense. Austria, whose house retained the imperial office, pursued a purely dynastic policy from now on, expanding to the east and south. Brandenburg, whose margrave made important gains in the Peace of Westphalia, had non-German interests in Prussia. Sweden received western Pomerania and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden along the Baltic, with a seat in the Diet. France was rewarded with the formal confirmation of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, territories which she had held since 1552, and also with bits of Alsace formerly held by the Hapsburgs. The independence of both the Swiss and the Dutch republics was recognized. Germany thus became the China of Europe, some provinces slipping away, others falling prey to predatory powers.

More important, perhaps, than any of the stated provisions of the Peace of Westphalia was the fact that this treaty marks the end of religious wars on the continent of Europe. Not a word was said in the treaty about tolerance; indeed, it was expressly provided that in the dominions of the house of Hapsburg, at least, Protestants were not to be tolerated. Nevertheless, tolerance was destined to become a rule of action among the German princes. The economic ruin of Germany and the decline of population called for prompt and intelligent reconstruction. The margrave of Brandenburg, for example, sought to attract immigration by offering freedom of conscience along with other advantages. This policy was widely imitated as its beneficial results became apparent. Furthermore, a century of conflict had made it clear to all thoughtful men that religious preference was a matter which simply could not be settled by force, however much one might wish it could be.

CHAPTER IX

England: Political and Religious Readjustments 1558-1689

IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND most men believed that unity of religion was an essential condition of the order and security of the state; furthermore, they believed that it was for the monarch to decide what the religion of the country should be. Elizabeth was one with the majority in this matter and her preference was for a state church of the form established by her father but with the somewhat moderated theology of her brother. Catholic and Calvinist minorities would have to accept this, but their lack of heartiness in conformity the queen was disposed, for the time being, to wink at.

The Elizabethan Settlement

The broad and mildly tolerant policy of Elizabeth has been attributed to her religious indifference, and it is true that in spite of her closeness to the throne she had known how to survive under both Protestant Edward and Catholic Mary. Queen Elizabeth's policies were usually national rather than personal, however. In the eyes of the Catholic world the religious settlement arrived at by the English crown and Parliament was unacceptable. The English queen, child of the hated Anne Boleyn, was illegitimate and nothing less than a usurper. The true ruler of England was her Catholic cousin Mary of Scotland, who in 1560 became queen of France. Just one year before, France and Spain had ended half a century of strife, the better to give attention to religious problems. Probably no sovereign in English history has come to the throne at a time of such difficulty and danger as did Elizabeth.

The new queen's greatest asset was her own character. Parental love and care she had never known; with such parents as hers it was perhaps just as well. Thrust into the arena of life almost before she could walk, Elizabeth early learned to keep her own counsel. Indeed, she became an adept at dissimulation. From her father Elizabeth inherited great physical vitality and a dominating, not to say domineering will. Her flirtatious propensities may be attributed to her mother, if it is necessary to give

them explanation. Like all the Tudors, she loved her people and courted popularity. Her personal desires never prevailed over the nation's interest as she saw it.

It was Elizabeth's game to play for time in the hope that combinations hostile to England might be hindered or even broken by the course of events, and in the hope that meanwhile she could establish her religious settlement so wisely and administer it so liberally that it would appeal to the vast majority of her subjects. Thus, if the storm finally broke, she might be able to count upon the solid backing of the nation. With such convincing art did she pursue her policy that for half a dozen years she maintained Philip of Spain's belief that she would turn Catholic and marry him, while for twelve years the papacy withheld its thunderbolt of excommunication.

Mary, Queen of Scots

Meanwhile events did play into Elizabeth's hands. In 1560 Mary of Scotland lost French support through the death of her royal husband, Francis II. Returning to her native land in the following year, Mary found Scotland so far gone in Calvinistic fervor that only with difficulty could she arrange for her private worship in the Catholic fashion. Bowing to the inevitable, apparently, the young queen—she was only eighteen—played her cards skillfully for a time. She endured the long hectoring sermons of Knox, employed her undeniable charm to win supporters among the Protestant nobles, and made a friend of her cousin Elizabeth by waiving her own claim to the English throne and by asking only that she be recognized as Elizabeth's heir. Suddenly, yielding to a momentary infatuation, the Scotch queen married her cousin Lord Darnley. Darnley was a weak and foolish youth, whose light head was set in a whirl by dreams of grandeur. Mary shortly withdrew her love and confidence, and the jealous youth could think of nothing save that he had been supplanted. Suspecting the queen's handsome Italian secretary, David Rizzio, Darnley with some companions forced his way into her private chambers and stabbed Rizzio to death in the queen's presence. Hiding her wrath, Mary weaned Darnley away from his friends by a pretended reconciliation. His assassination quickly followed. The earl of Bothwell, a Protestant, was the actual assassin, though he was acquitted after a hasty trial. Pretending that Bothwell had overpowered her, Mary then married the earl, an act supremely imprudent. That Mary had been an accomplice in the death of Darnley most people then believed, though it has never been proved. Needless to say, such callous and heedless conduct in their ruler was more than the Scotch people could stomach and Mary was compelled to flee. With incredible folly she crossed the border into England and

threw herself upon Elizabeth's mercy. This was in 1568. Elizabeth entertained her uncalculating rival in a castle which became her prison. There she remained for nineteen years, an invaluable pawn in Elizabeth's hands which she had not lifted a finger to secure.

Any aid that France might have given to the Catholic cause had been indefinitely postponed by the outbreak of civil war, and the attention of Spain itself had been distracted by the outbreak of revolt in the Netherlands. The Dutch diversion was carefully watched by Elizabeth. Hopeful that the unrest in the Netherlands might develop into an issue that would occupy all of Philip's energy and resources, Elizabeth more than once intervened to save the revolt from extinction. Year after year passed by. As the Catholic hope of regaining England through the peaceful penetration of the Jesuits and by diplomatic means grew fainter, more desperate measures were tried. Plot after plot was formed against Elizabeth's life. This was of course an age when even theologians regarded political assassination as a justifiable means of advancing a cherished cause. The plots, whether or not known to Mary of Scotland, were in her interest, and her complicity was suspected. At length it became conclusively clear to all, except apparently the English queen, that Elizabeth's life was not safe nor the Protestant settlement secure while Mary remained alive. Judicially pronounced guilty of complicity in a plan called the Babington plot, the queen of Scotland was beheaded (1587) in a great hall furnished with tiers of seats, for which England's titled magnates competed madly. And they were well rewarded, these spectators; for Mary, carefully arrayed in crimson robes, met her fate with queenly dignity and composure. Elizabeth, temporizing to the last, flatly denied that she had signed the death warrant, and to give her lie the similitude of truth, dismissed from her service and drove into ruin the luckless official whom she had authorized to sign her name.

The Armada

Just before her death Mary had willed her claim to the English throne to Philip of Spain. The launching of the Armada in the following year might be regarded, therefore, as Philip's attempt to gather in his inheritance, but other matters more realistic moved him on the same course. For one thing, Elizabeth had lately been guilty of a flagrant act of war in sending her favorite, the earl of Leicester, with a force of English soldiers to fight on the Dutch side. Seemingly England must first be conquered and then the Dutch, instead of the other way about. More galling were the destructive attacks of English sailors on Spanish shipping. Covertly encouraged by their queen, these attacks had been going on for years. There was rich reward in the business and high adventure too;

indeed, the doings of these Elizabethan sea dogs constitute a veritable new "age of the Vikings." To the stately but lumbering Spanish galleon with its banks of oars the English opposed a smaller sailboat, more easily maneuvered. The Spanish game in a sea fight was to come into close contact with the enemy, board him, and fight it out hand to hand, on deck as on land. Even so had the Romans beaten the Carthaginians. And thus had the Spanish but lately beaten the Turks; in the battle of Lepanto not a single oarless vessel was engaged on either side. English sailors employed a new method of fighting, which marked a revolution in the art of war. Standing off at a distance and circling their opponents at will, the English "floating batteries" poured broadside after broadside into the ships of Spain. Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, and the other English captains who met the Armada were supremely confident of their ability to win, their confidence born of many a lesser conflict on every sea in the world. To years of buccaneering raids so bold as to strain credulity had succeeded mass attack when Drake in 1585 led a fleet of thirty vessels against the Spanish settlements of the West Indies. Turning toward home, he lay off the harbors of Spain picking up what vessels he chose and even burning Spanish shipping at its mooring place—"singeing the king of Spain's beard," he called it. In reality, England and Spain had been at war on the sea for years before the Armada set sail.

Only about half of the 137 vessels that set forth from Lisbon on May 30, 1588, survived to crawl back into Spanish harbors a few weeks later. The English fleet had exacted a fearful toll in a running fight of several days as the Armada was proceeding through the English Channel. Unable to make contact with Spanish forces in the Netherlands, the battered ships of Spain were then harassed by a terrific storm. Many were wrecked on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland; many more sank without a trace. Spanish losses of men totaled more than ten thousand; English casualties were fewer than one hundred.

Elizabeth's Later Years; Parliament Comes to Life

The post-Armada years of Elizabeth's reign brought to a climax her popularity and prestige. The most brilliant writers of the age penned tributes to her fame. There is a triumphant note in the literature of the period, a vigorous accentuation of national patriotic feeling, with the queen the object almost of adoration. "The fierce old hen sat still," says Lytton Strachey, "brooding over the English nation, whose pullulating energies were coming swiftly to ripeness and unity under her wings. She sat still; but every feather bristled; she was tremendously alive."

Elizabeth had need of all her popularity, in her later years, to enable

her to lead a quiet life, politically and religiously. The English Parliament was traditionally in partnership with the crown in the government of the English state. Under the Tudors, for reasons previously set forth, Parliament had become a sleeping partner. Summoned infrequently, Parliaments sat briefly. Royal control over the House of Lords was easy. Once the national church had been established, the crown named the twenty-six bishops, a good third of the entire membership of the Lords, the abbots having been dropped. The crown could, and the Tudors frequently did, create lay peerages at will. The House of Commons consisted of two members from each county of England and (after 1535) of Wales, and of two representatives from each of certain designated boroughs. The Tudors could not very well increase the number of counties but they could and did increase the number of boroughs. Nearly one quarter of the 450 seats in the House of Commons at the close of the sixteenth century had been added by the Tudors, who named as parliamentary boroughs small towns built upon lands owned by the crown itself.

Tudor Parliaments would have found it difficult to take a strong line if they had wished to do so. But the English people were not much interested in self-government in Tudor times; it could be said of England that she would rather be well governed than self-governed. There arose a sort of "hero worship" of monarchy, an English counterpart of the "divine right" of kings. Parliament still played its immemorial part in enacting the laws and voting taxes, but its demeanor was deferential and its actions formal. National policies were determined by the crown with the aid of the twenty or thirty members of the privy council. The council also set in motion the machinery to administer the policies. An English writer on government, about 1565, gave expression to the view that "the crown is the life, the head, and authority of all things that be done in the realm of England."

In Elizabeth's later years, however, there were unmistakable signs that the period of parliamentary passivity was at an end. The national emergency was over and a deep-seated instinct of self-government, rooted in age-old traditions, stirred members of Parliament to a critical view of the queen's policies. Members of the Commons began to speak out boldly and vote independently.

Tudor policy itself was partly responsible for this recrudescence of parliamentary spirit. To offset the power of the landed magnates, the Tudors built up a middle class of lesser landlords. Vast estates were so divided, when occasion served, as to enrich half a dozen families in the lower ranks of the nobility. To such families, also, most of the monastic property had gone. The enclosure of lands for pasture had further enriched the gentry, at the expense, in this case, of the rural masses. The

merchant class had been expanded by the rapid development of commerce. Country gentry, merchants, and professional men supplied nearly the whole of the membership of the Commons, and all of these groups were keenly interested in all that affected their independence of thought and action.

Growth of Puritanism

Religious unrest, despite the queen's utmost skill, was greater at the close of Elizabeth's reign than at the beginning. As we have seen, a small but vigorous minority of Englishmen had early called for a more thorough reform of the national church, a sharper and more drastic differentiation of the Anglican church from the Roman church, whose English adherents seemed likely to become, in the predestined course of international relations, the enemies of the state. Abolish the bishops and reorganize the church on Calvinistic lines, the reformers demanded; eliminate "popish" and "superstitious" practices from the order of service. Let the ministers be better, that is differently, educated. In brief, let them be able to explain the word of God to the people in expository sermons. To that end, let each congregation have a voice in the selection of the minister. Intellectual leadership of the reformers came principally from the University of Cambridge. Thomas Cartwright, prominent in the movement in its early years, was a professor there, and Robert Brown was a student. The nickname "Puritan" was applied to this group as early as 1564.

At the end of Elizabeth's reign the controversy had reached an acute stage. It seems likely that Englishmen at this time were divided about evenly between the two parties; both knew that the side which lost the struggle would scarcely be allowed to live. Two matters, especially, were the subject of angry debate. First, the altar controversy. Puritans insisted that the bread and wine be served to a seated congregation from a table placed in the center of the church. The conservatives insisted that all communicants kneel in immemorial fashion at the altar rail, placed at the east end of the church. Outbreaks of violence occurred in the towns and villages of England as parishioners divided into factions, "table-wise" and "altar-wise." The outrageous proceedings of their Puritan neighbors stirred the conservatives to the depths of their souls. One conservative group sent a formal protest to their bishop, as follows: "Should it [the Communion table] be permitted to stand as before it did [that is, in the center of the church], churchwardens will keep their accounts on it, parishioners will dispatch the parish business at it, schoolmasters will teach their boys to write upon it, the boys will lay their hats, satchels, and books upon it, many will sit and lean irreverently against it in sermon time, the dogs will . . . defile it, and glaziers will knock it full of nail holes."

There was controversy also over the proper observance of the Lord's Day. To the Puritans Sunday was the Sabbath of the Old Testament, a day of rest from all ordinary labor and of refraining from amusements. In the words of one Puritan divine, "The rest upon this day must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and precise rest, after another manner than men are accustomed." Attendance at church, where a wakeful attention to the sermon was enjoined, and Bible reading, meditation, and prayer were the order of the day. The conservatives, on the other hand, preferred the old-fashioned Sunday of their ancestors, on which townsfolk and villagers alike spent the daylight hours after morning service in out-of-doors recreation and sport. The Puritans, in their turn, were outraged by such activities on the Lord's Day, denouncing them, in the language of Milton, as "gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing."

The Puritans were strongest in the towns, where the merchants and the artisans displayed the same liking for Calvinistic ways as had the bourgeoisie of France and the Netherlands. A considerable number of the country gentry and a few landed magnates were Puritans. The conservatives could count on the support of the masses, both rural and urban, of nearly all the nobility, and of a certain proportion of the middle class.

James I and Divine Right

It is evident that if the English monarchy was to continue its successful leadership of the nation, Elizabeth's successor would require the personal and statesmanlike qualities of a Henry of Navarre. James VI of Scotland fell tragically short of this standard. He knew little of English ways in 1603, when he became James I of England, and he never learned much. It was not his fault that he was a Scotsman, but in the eyes of the English, one lifetime was too short for anyone to redeem that defect. He could translate a chapter from the Latin Bible into French and from the French into English extempore at the age of ten. This youthful precocity, however, bore no more fruit than wide but superficial knowledge and fluent but empty talk. One of James's favorite themes was the prerogative of kings, a matter of which he had had little practical experience in Scotland. James's writings on this theme extend to four hundred pages of modern print. From his earlier writing he drew in one of his first speeches to the English Parliament: "The state of monarchy is the supremest thing on earth; as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy . . . so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do at the height of his power." This view, so foreign to English political tradition, was cherished not by James alone but also by his son Charles I and his grandsons Charles II and James II.

The Religious Problem

Under the law of England the king was head of the church; to James, therefore, the Puritans soon went with the "Millenary Petition," a measured statement of Puritan demands signed by some hundreds of ministers, though the total was not so large as the name suggests. Though his mother had been a Catholic, James had been brought up a Calvinist, and the English Puritans hoped that he would meet them halfway. James decided, however, to summon a council of representatives of both parties (Hampton Court Conference, 1604). For several days discussion proceeded in orderly if not exactly amicable fashion, the king playing well the role of moderator and displaying a surprising knowledge of the points at issue. The conservatives were the better courtiers, the bishop of London exclaiming that his "heart melted within him to hear a king, the like of whom had not been since the time of Christ." Finally one of the Puritan divines, a certain Dr. Reynolds of Cambridge, in a discussion of the proposed reorganization of the church, made it plain that in his opinion the ecclesiastical authority of the king should be discarded as well as that of the bishops. In sudden wrath James exclaimed that the proposed plan "as wel agreeth with a Monarchy as God and the Devill. . . . If this bee al that they have to say, I shall make them conforme themselves, or I will harrie them out of the land, or else doe worse." The great historian Gardiner says of this incident, "In two minutes James settled the fate of England forever."

Driven from the court in disfavor and threatened with expulsion from the land itself, the Puritan leaders carried the fight to the floor of the House of Commons. Thus Parliament became the theater of both the religious and the constitutional issues. In fact, religious change became a constitutional matter. The Stuarts might well have despaired had they understood the caliber and temper of the opposition which James had so imprudently called forth. Puritan strength in the Commons is revealed in the prompt enactment of a bill which denied the right of the king to alter the religion of England without the consent of Parliament. The Lords threw the bill out. Encouraged by royal support, the bishops drew up canons calculated to secure stricter conformity. As a result about three hundred Puritan ministers resigned their churches. One project, however, upon which both conservatives and Puritans agreed at Hampton Court was that a fresh translation of the scriptures was needed. A commission of fifty learned translators was set up. Completed in 1611, the "King James Version" of the Bible is the most important English translation ever made. Remarkably free from Latinities, the vocabulary of this literary masterpiece is 94 per cent Anglo-Saxon.

The Problem of Parliament

James's ineptitude in dealing with the religious problem was more than matched by his mishandling of Parliament. There had been no such body in Scotland; indeed, there was no such body anywhere outside of England. Traditional continuity had made of Parliament as fixed a political habit with the English as monarchy. Through their support of the middle class of landowners and merchants, the Tudors had greatly strengthened the group from which the House of Commons was chiefly drawn, and it was this body which took the initiative in the struggle with the Stuarts. King James's first Parliament met in 1604. William Goodwin, chosen by the voters of Buckinghamshire, soon reported that his election had been nullified by a royal official and that a second election had been held. Nothing illustrates so well the political insight, skill, and vigilance of the members of the House of Commons as the way they handled this case. Pointing out that to let this go unchallenged might open the door to a deliberate packing of the house, the Commons respectfully remonstrated with the king, asserting that the right to pass upon the qualifications of members rested with them and with no one else. Considering that he had had no experience with such a body and was hearing about parliamentary privileges for the first time, James took this rebuke rather well. He yielded the immediate point at issue. In a lengthy harangue, however, the king told the Commons that "since they derived all matters of privilege from his grant, he expected they should not be turned against him."

Perceiving quite correctly that their new king had much to learn if he were to play the role of constitutional sovereign, a committee of the house drew up a statement of its privileges which goes under the name of "The Apology of the Commons." In this famous document the Commons asserted that, save for certain "persons of the higher nobility," they represented "the flower and power of your kingdom, amounting to many millions of people." This representative function, they continued, is safeguarded by certain immemorial privileges which alone make it of real value. These privileges are threefold: "that the shires, cities, and boroughs of England have free choice of such persons as they shall put in trust to represent them; that the persons chosen, during the time of Parliament, be free from restraint, arrest, and imprisonment; and that in Parliament they may speak freely their consciences without check or controlment, doing the same with due reverence to the court of Parliament, that is, to your majesty and both houses, who all in this case make but one body politic, whereof your highness is the head." As Gardiner says, "To understand this Apology is to understand the causes of the success of the English

Revolution. In it the Commons took up the position which they never quitted during eighty-four long and stormy years."

It is clear that with such a view of the authority of Parliament the Commons would subject all royal policies to the closest scrutiny and, in many cases, to sharp criticism. The realm of policy in which conflict broke out earliest and continued longest was finance. It is apparent that whichever party could win control over the sources of revenue could control all national policies and would thus in effect "win the war." King and Commons approached the subject of finance from very different points of view. In the view of the Commons, and this was an inheritance from medieval times, the king should finance the ordinary peacetime expenses of government. The vast personal estate of the medieval kings of England had virtually made this possible. Parliament had been called upon for help only in times of national emergency, when it would come forward with a tax on income ("tenths and fifteenths") or a direct tax on land ("subsidy"). Tudor sovereigns accepted this viewpoint in the main. The crown lands had so diminished, however, and the routine expenses of government had so increased, that Henry VII and his successors had been compelled to invent new ways of raising money, such as the "benevolence," or forced loan, whereby loyal subjects were cajoled or constrained into making gifts or loans, which were really taxes without benefit of parliamentary enactment. The imposing of duties on imports and exports was another medieval source of revenue which the Tudors continued and, with the marked increase in commerce, developed. All manner of articles of commerce were divided by medieval Englishmen into "wet goods" and "dry goods." The traditional schedule of taxes on the former was called "tonnage," from the tax on the tun, or hogshead, of wine; on the latter, "poundage," or so much per pound sterling of value. Parliament was in the habit of voting the familiar and unchanging schedules of tonnage and poundage to each king for life at the beginning of his reign. Under pressure of necessity the Tudors had begun cautiously to amend the old schedules of tonnage and poundage, both by adding new articles to the list and by increasing the rates long familiar. These new duties, known as "impositions," had so far gone unchallenged.

It was no longer possible, in fact, for the crown to finance the ordinary expenses of government without regular taxation. The great contemporary rise in prices alone would explain this. A fundamental change in viewpoint on the part of the taxpayers was what the situation required. This was scarcely to be expected, however, and a prolonged struggle was the inevitable result of the new conditions. Only Queen Elizabeth's extreme penury and extreme popularity had postponed the contest. James I was neither popular nor penurious. He was in financial difficulties at once,

and he remained so throughout the reign. All the old Tudor devices for raising money were revived and new ones were invented. Even so, James more than once had to call on Parliament for help.

Foreign Policy: Royal or National?

The reign of James was a prelude to the Stuart period as a whole in the realm of foreign policy also. Here the king's objective was the same as Elizabeth's had been; namely, peace and security for England. His means to that end, however, were utterly different. Elizabeth believed that England's security lay in vigorous opposition to Spain and alliance with other Protestant states. James, on the other hand, was a pacifist. He believed that England could and should live in peace and friendship with all European states, whether Protestant or Catholic. To that end he made peace with Spain in the first year of his reign (1604), and suggested to the Spanish ambassador that a firm and lasting peace between the two countries could best be cemented by a royal marriage between Henry, prince of Wales, and a Spanish princess. English public opinion was outraged by this suggestion, when it finally became known, and Spanish opinion would have been no less so had it been as well informed. Spanish leaders were content, for the time being, to hold open the matter of marriage, thus securing England's neutrality in Europe's wars. Prince Henry, having Puritan leanings, was strongly averse to the whole idea.

James meanwhile promoted the other half of his plan by giving his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to a leading Protestant prince, Frederick V of the German Palatinate. Frederick, indeed, became the leader of the aggressive wing of German Protestants, finally accepting the crown of Bohemia. Disaster overwhelmed him, as we have seen, for he lost both Bohemia and his own Palatinate, and the armed force which drove Frederick and his English wife from their thrones was supplied by Spain. In England all the old anti-Spanish feeling now sprang suddenly to life again. The elimination of Frederick, as it proved, was only the first of a series of onslaughts upon the Protestants of Europe. Indeed, England's national church and even her national security were again in peril. A cry arose, loud and prolonged, for war with Spain. To this James turned a completely deaf ear. Wiser than his age, as he believed himself to be, and perhaps really was, and convinced that the expulsion of Frederick had no such dire significance as the anti-Spanish party thought, James was confident that he could secure the restoration of Frederick and Elizabeth by diplomatic means. He even revived and energetically pushed the project of a Spanish marriage. Since Prince Henry had died meanwhile

(1612), James now proffered his more complaisant second son, Prince Charles. As might have been expected the plan drew sharp criticism in the House of Commons. To this James replied in an equally sharp rebuke. The Commons thereupon drew up the famous "Protestation" of their right of freedom of speech (1620). James promptly dismissed Parliament, and sending for the journal of the House of Commons, he tore from it the pages on which the Commons had reaffirmed their right to discuss all national policies, whether domestic or foreign.

Charles I: Absolutist and High Churchman

Old and tired, his reign a failure, James died in 1625. Within four years the new king managed to worsen the relations between Parliament and the crown to such an extent as to render further cooperation between them impossible. In bringing matters to this pass the personality of Charles I was a decisive factor. The appearance and bearing of Charles were more kingly than those of his father. He was personally brave, and he met the crises of his life with dignity and steadfastness. He shared to the full, however, his father's views of the royal prerogative and therefore had neither sympathy with the views of Parliament nor an understanding of them. Moreover, Charles was excessively stiff and obstinate in controversy. Where the father had been shrilly vocal, the son was glumly silent. In the gallery of paintings at the Louvre in Paris there hangs a portrait of Charles I by Van Dyke. This famous artist was long a resident in England, where he made a fortune through the intelligent and appreciative patronage of King Charles and his friends. In the portrait at the Louvre Charles is seated on one of the splendid dapple-gray steeds whose descendants still draw the English coach of state. An art critic, praising the flowing lines of the painting says, "There is only one straight line in this portrait; that is Charles's back." The observation has a political significance which the author probably did not intend.

In his conduct of both religious and foreign affairs Charles roused an even sharper antagonism than his father had done. A group of Anglicans, stung by Puritan criticism, had now adopted what might be called a "High Church" attitude. For one thing, they specifically rejected Calvin's favorite dogma of predestination. Furthermore, they placed great value upon the historical traditions of the church, and believing that the appeal of religion should be emotional rather than intellectual, they called for greater emphasis upon ceremonial. Above all, the High Church group believed in order and uniformity.

The High Churchmen sought to make a convert of the new king by defending royal authority in state as well as church. *Appello Caesarem* is

the significant title of a tract published by a High Churchman in the first year of the reign of Charles I. The king readily accepted the religious and political views of the party, and he lost no time in advancing its leaders to positions of authority. William Laud, an Oxford don, the most vigorous and outspoken of the group, was made successively bishop of London and archbishop of Canterbury. The Puritan leaders were outraged by such rank favoritism and they freely accused the High Church party of leanings toward Rome. Charles himself had given some grounds for this suspicion by marrying, two months after his accession, the Catholic Henrietta Maria of France, promising the French court that he would grant toleration to English Catholics.

The Petition of Right

Before long Charles I managed to quarrel with both France and Spain, and England soon found herself at war with the two greatest states of Europe. Futility and failure were the result. English national pride, which had been riding high since the Armada, was brought very low. Endeavoring to raise funds for the war in extraparliamentary ways, the king violated certain immemorial liberties of Englishmen. Parliament responded in the famous Petition of Right (1628). In this document, "second in importance only to Magna Carta," it was demanded that the king promise not to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament, not to imprison anyone arbitrarily, not to quarter soldiers and sailors in private homes, and not to declare martial law in time of peace. So great was Charles's need of money that he gave a grudging assent. When the Commons then proceeded to criticize him for his promotion of High Churchmen and his "innovations in religion," Charles dissolved both houses, saying that he "hated the very name of Parliament" and was resolved never to summon another.

Period of Personal Rule

How long the king could maintain himself as the sole arbiter of England's destinies would depend upon how long he could finance his government. The king was free at last to enforce his religious policy, and what the Puritans feared would happen did happen. Archbishop Laud, fussy as an old maid and bursting with vitality, visited every diocese in his province and as many churches as possible in each diocese, moving the Communion table to the east end of the church, compelling each minister to wear a surplice, and causing all Puritan parishes to dismiss their "lecturers." The energetic archbishop instituted a rigorous censorship of

the press also, such Puritan works as appeared being seized and their authors punished severely, not to say savagely. In these matters king and archbishop were hand in glove, the royal Court of Star Chamber dealing roughly with those at whom Laud's finger pointed. Some of Laud's victims were of uncommonly tough fibre. William Prynne, Puritan, a London lawyer, wrote a pamphlet criticizing the contemporary stage and reflecting adversely upon the queen, who was fond of amateur theatricals. Prynne was sentenced to pay a fine of £5000, lose his ears, and be imprisoned for life. Undaunted, Prynne wrote in jail another pamphlet, this time attacking the bishops. The sentence was repeated, and the puzzled executioner, finding no ears to remove, was content to "glean the stumps." Even this did not stop Prynne's writing; it was impossible to prevent his writing as long as he had his right hand.

While Prynne and his like preferred jail to submission, thousands of other Puritans resolved to seek in the New World a refuge where they might worship as they pleased. During the eleven years of Charles's personal rule, over 20,000 left England for New England. Massachusetts received her charter in 1629, Connecticut was settled in 1633, Rhode Island was colonized in 1636. It is estimated that one quarter of the present population of the United States is descended from these Puritan emigrants. They were English, be it noted, not Welsh, nor Scotch, nor Irish, and they were of the middle class. Some few were of the lower order but none of the higher classes were represented. The moral and social habits and the political tradition of millions of Americans then unborn were shaped by these men of uncompromising faith.

Meanwhile King Charles had been able to keep income and expenditure in fair approximation by straining his resourcefulness and pressing his "rights" to the limit. This achievement, however, was on a peacetime basis. A war would bring his financial structure down in ruins. And war came, brought on by the king's own act. With England in a fair state of conformity, Charles and Laud attempted to introduce the English Prayer Book into Scotland. Riots broke out. In St. Giles' cathedral, Edinburgh, on July 23, 1637, "a brave Scotch woman, Janet Geddes, . . . struck the first blow in the great struggle for freedom of conscience." So reads the record on a brass tablet which commemorates the event. What the Scotch woman did was to lay hold of the stool on which she sat and hurl it at the minister's head. This act is symbolic of the instantaneous repudiation by the whole Scotch people of their king's ecclesiastical policy. Organized resistance followed, and a Scotch army, seeking-to bring pressure to bear upon King Charles, occupied the northernmost tier of English counties. Unable to finance a war against the rebellious subjects of his northern kingdom, and trusting that their immemorial

hatred of the Scotch would divert the English from domestic issues, Charles summoned Parliament (1640) and called for a war on Scotland. The English Commons were in no mood to be stampeded. They had eleven years of grievances to catch up on and they proceeded in their usual way to formulate their complaints. Convinced that the Scotch were fighting in the same cause, the English parliamentary leaders made friends with them. Charles was trapped. For two years Parliament labored at "revising" the English constitution, making sure that every privilege was understood, every part of the taxative authority vested in Parliament, every doubtful precedent set aside. Government was still a partnership between king and Parliament, but Parliament was unquestionably the dominant partner.

Civil War

On the constitutional side, at least, the story should end here. It did not, however, for two reasons. In the first place, Charles's assent to the many bills laid before him had been given with a mental reservation. He gave in but did not give up. "God will not suffer this cause to prosper," he said. In the second place, Parliament, having finished with constitutional points, turned to the religious matter. The substantial unanimity with which the Commons had labored then gave place to violent dissension between the Puritan majority and an opposition of almost equal size. This was Charles's opportunity. Skillfully the king rallied all "Churchmen" to his standard, resolving to reduce the Puritan parliamentarians to submission by force. The challenge was accepted with a will, and civil war ensued. Nearly all the peers rallied to the support of the king, as did the large minority of Churchmen in the House of Commons. The king left London for the north, and there his followers gathered around him. The parliamentary machinery of government at Westminster, or what was left of it, remained in the hands of the Puritans, together with the city of London and the southeastern counties, largely Puritan in sentiment. The Puritans had control of six sevenths of the population and three quarters of the national wealth.

The Puritan Parliament promptly made two moves which, in a military sense, won the war. The first was an alliance with the Scotch army, already in occupation of England's northernmost counties. In fulfillment of one of the provisions of this alliance, Parliament imposed the Presbyterian form of church organization upon the whole of England. Some two thousand clergymen resigned. Strongly Calvinistic articles of religion were adopted which, though soon to be discarded in England itself, were destined to remain the religious pabulum of the youth of New England for nearly two centuries. Moving southward, the Scotch

beat the king at Marston Moor (1644), and Yorkshire and the whole north of England passed under Parliament's control. In the meantime Parliament was taking effective steps to recruit and maintain an army of its own.

Oliver Cromwell

There was no doubt who the commander of the parliamentary army would be. Oliver Cromwell was a country gentleman of modest fortune who formed a troop of cavalry of his neighbors when fighting first broke out. A zealous Puritan and a member of the Commons, he had taken little part in debate, though he impressed everyone with his "silent capacity." As a cavalry leader, however, he was consistently brilliant; military experts say he never made a mistake. Like all military leaders, Cromwell had unusual bodily and mental vigor and great power of command. "He was of a sanguine [i.e., ruddy] complexion," wrote a contemporary, "naturally of such vivacity, hilarity, and alacrity as another man hath when he hath drunken a cup too much." Cromwell's army, the famous "Ironsides," inflicted a crushing defeat upon the king at Naseby (1645).

Charles, had he been well advised, would now have come to terms with his conquerors, or failing that, have sought refuge on the Continent. Refusing to admit defeat, however, the king sought to evade his fate once more by setting his enemies to fighting among themselves. The prospect was not unpropitious. The Scotch, their contract with Parliament fulfilled, resumed their status of free agents. In the Puritan Parliament itself a deep fissure had opened. A minority had become increasingly incensed at the policy of the Presbyterian majority. Preferring the congregational type of organization, these "Independents" found the rule of synods little more tolerable than that of bishops. Politically the Independents were the left wing of the Puritan party, favoring a measure of democracy in the state, even perhaps the setting up of a republic. As luck would have it, Cromwell was an Independent. Under his command the parliamentary army became a politico-religious party wholly responsive to his leadership. With a faith in the rightness of his cause as stubborn as the king's, Cromwell resolved to break the long drawn out maneuvers in which Charles played off one party against another. Defeating the Scots and capturing the king, Cromwell "purged" Parliament of his Presbyterian opponents. The Rump, or remnant, of the House of Commons then tried the king for "treason." Early in 1649 "that man of blood, Charles Stuart," was executed. The dignity and courage with which the king met his fate did much to rehabilitate him even in the eyes of his opponents. Without question, an overwhelming majority of Englishmen looked upon his execution with horror.

The Kingless Decade

We come now to that famous interlude, the "kingless decade." A republic, or Commonwealth, was set up by the Rump and in due course was provided with a written constitution. The Instrument of Government, as it was called, is the first written constitution in the history of the world for any considerable body of people. The drafting of its provisions gave rise to a spirited debate over the right to vote, in which the rank and file of Cromwell's army—the lower middle class of farmers, tradesmen, and artisans—took issue with their officers, representative of the upper middle class. The Levelers, as the radicals were called, were keen individualists and democrats. "All government is in the free consent of the people," they said; "the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest he." Such views were destined to have great influence in America a century later, but they got nowhere in England even under Cromwell. The franchise remained in the hands of the propertied class. The executive authority was entrusted to Cromwell, with the title of Lord Protector. Parliament was to have a much wider representative basis than formerly. Both Scotland and Ireland were united with England and Wales in a common representative body, and thus for the first time in their long history the British Isles formed a political unit. Revolutionary as these changes were, they are without permanent significance. From first to last the real basis of Cromwell's rule was military. Sincere as was his belief in self-government, the great Puritan could not bear to see the people make a mess of things. He quarreled with successive Parliaments more bitterly and treated them more roughly than even the Stuarts had done. Ten years of military rule but thinly disguised instilled in Englishmen a prejudice against a standing army from which they have never recovered.

Along with a domestic policy less in accord with the will of the nation than that of Charles I, Cromwell pursued a foreign policy which was as truly national as that of Elizabeth. He renewed the war with Spain as a matter of course and pushed it energetically, seizing the island of Jamaica. Perceiving that the Dutch were in a position to crush the life out of England's infant colonial and commercial enterprises, Cromwell inaugurated the series of wars through which England finally forged ahead of her active rival. Recognizing that naval supremacy was the key to success against both Spain and the Dutch, he built a fleet of warships and kept it in active service year after year. Cromwell was the real founder of the British navy.

The Protector's last years were unhappy. Royalist plots became increasingly frequent. The death of his wife and of his favorite daughter

loosened his own hold on life. On September 3, 1658, this great Englishman died; it was the anniversary of two of his military triumphs. A group of army officers attempted to continue the Cromwellian regime under his son Richard, but the all but unanimous opposition of the nation, coupled with Richard's manifest unfitness, quickly ended the experiment. Surviving members of the Parliament of 1640 then resolved to restore the monarchy; and Prince Charles, having solemnly promised to rule in accordance with the will of Parliament, was summoned from his exile on the Continent. He landed at Dover on his thirtieth birthday, May 25, 1660.

The Restoration

The Restoration was twofold, political and religious. King and Parliament ruled England henceforth as partners, and there was no doubt which was the stronger. Having already perfected its control over the sources of revenue, Parliament now reached out for detailed control over expenditures and the auditing of accounts. These measures were successful, and at the midpoint of Charles's reign Parliament was in complete command of national policy. Parliamentary parties, Tory and Whig, sprang up at once as differences of opinion became manifest.

Charles II was as absolutist in principle as his father. As a Catholic he would have been even less acceptable to the nation had the fact been generally known. Tall, handsome, and of abounding vitality, Charles plunged eagerly into a life of self-indulgence, seemingly bent on making up for time lost in exile. The English aristocracy followed the royal example with avidity, having long been restive under the restraints of the Puritan regime. Needless to say, the tone of Charles's court was low.

Two years after his accession Parliament persuaded Charles to marry. His choice, a political one, was Catherine of Braganza, daughter of the king of Portugal. This marriage fitted in with England's anti-Spanish policy, for Portugal was then engaged in an attempt to maintain her independence of Spain. And it was a contribution to the building of the Empire, for Catherine's dowry included the port of Tangier at the entrance to the Mediterranean and Bombay, an important trading center in India. Though young, Catherine was "a dumpy woman, devoid of grace, with irregular teeth which spoiled the mouth." Charles soon returned to his mistresses. The moral standards of the age are revealed by the fact that Charles felt it proper to appear at a public function in the company of his queen, his mistress of the moment, and his son by another mistress.

The pursuit of pleasure, however, was a mask which Charles could take off and resume at will. The records show that Charles worked hard at the

business of government, harder than his father had done. The second Charles was indeed a much abler man than his father. Tenaciously clinging to the Stuart ideal of absolutism but faced with difficulties much greater than those which had confronted his father, Charles had the intelligence to perceive that a frontal attack would prove fatal to the Stuart cause. He became, therefore, an opportunist, a man of secret stratagems with never a real confidant. As to his success, it may be said that through twenty-five years of devious maneuvering he did at least keep the Stuart cause alive.

In religious matters the nation was as divided as ever. However, the tables were now reversed. In the Parliament chosen in 1661, on a high tide of rejoicing over the restoration of monarchy, a large majority of the Commons was Anglican. These men were eager to pay back the Puritans in their own coin. A whole series of statutes (the Clarendon Code) was skillfully drawn, whose objective was first to drive all non-Anglicans out of the church, and secondly to make their continued existence as organized groups impossible. Religious tests were imposed which resulted in the resignation of over 2000 ministers. The public worship of non-Anglicans was forbidden. Many of the country gentry and not a few of the peers had been Puritans, as we have seen. Having to choose now between their religion on the one hand and loss of social standing and political preferment on the other, the vast majority of such persons conformed, taking their cue, seemingly, from a remark let fall by Charles II that Puritanism "is no religion fit for a gentleman." Out of power and in disfavor, Puritan leaders turned, or returned, to literature. John Bunyan, in the enforced leisure of a Restoration jail, wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*. Milton, who had been Cromwell's Latin secretary, wrote *Paradise Lost*.

Personal Policy of Charles II

In the meantime Charles was making ready to launch a project which had been long maturing in his mind. An unavowed Catholic, the King had determined that his first act of personal policy would be to lighten the burdens of his coreligionists. Parliament, like England as a whole, was strongly anti-Catholic, and Charles was too clever to think that he could perform a political miracle. His plan was subtly to induce Parliament to follow one road while he pursued another. Conditions abroad were marvelously favorable to the king's design and he exploited them for all they were worth. Charles's close ally and confidant was Louis XIV, also an absolutist and a Catholic. Louis was minded, at the moment, to annihilate the Dutch and he was prepared to bid high for English support. England had been nursing a grudge against the Dutch for twenty years, and another

Dutch war was sure to be popular. Parliament swallowed the bait so skillfully prepared, not knowing that secret clauses of the Treaty of Dover (1670) pledged Charles to declare himself a Catholic, to place the English Catholics in positions of political predominance, and to accept Louis's gold even, if need be, his soldiers to quiet English opposition. All that Parliament knew was that England was to join France in a war on the Dutch and that large slices of the Dutch empire were to be England's prize. Two days before the war broke out Charles issued a "Declaration of Indulgence for Tender Consciences." Catholics were thereby to be relieved of the various restrictions under which Parliament had placed them, and the better to conceal the king's true purpose, Protestant non-conformists were also included in the act of grace. As it happened, nobody was deceived. In panic fear of a Catholic revival, Parliament struck back with a Test Act (1673) which excluded from public office all persons who would not receive the sacrament in accordance with the rites of the Church of England. Suspecting that the French alliance was part and parcel of the Catholic plot, Parliament refused further votes of money and so brought Charles's war policy to a sudden end.

The Popish Plot

Realizing that he had mistaken the temper of England and fearful that he might have to "go on his travels again," Charles dropped his plan for Catholic relief. But this did not end his troubles. Among those whom the Test Act obliged to retire from office was the King's own brother and destined heir to the throne. James, duke of York, a professed Catholic, had first married a Protestant lady of rank, whose two daughters had been brought up as members of the English Church. In 1673, just after the Test Act, the duke, now a widower, had married a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. A son of this union, if there should be one, would be in the direct line of succession. This alarming prospect soon inspired a radical minority in Parliament to support a bill to exclude James from the throne. A sudden accentuation of the anti-Catholic hysteria made the acceptance of this bill something more than a remote possibility. A renegade priest named Titus Oates "discovered" a "hellish" plot of the English Catholics to kill the king, burn London, seize the government, and place the duke of York on the throne. This wildly improbable tale (the "Popish Plot," 1678) received all but universal credence when the distinguished judge before whom Oates was unburdening his secret knowledge was mysteriously murdered. Charles himself, author of a Catholic plot of less garish nature, brushed aside Oates's tale with the remark to his brother, "They'll never kill me to make you king." The

invitation, as we shall see. Perceiving tardily that he had lost all support, even that of his daughters, James fled to France, and a "bloodless revolution" had been accomplished. After long debate Parliament summed up the situation neatly by declaring, first, that James II had "endeavored to subvert the constitution of his kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people"; and secondly, that "it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince." Various actions of both James II and Charles II were then branded as illegal in a Bill of Rights (1689), with which Parliament consolidated its supremacy. Other statutes provided that Parliament must be summoned at least once in three years, that a new House of Commons must be chosen at least once in three years, and that no armed forces might be maintained without the consent of Parliament. Turning its attention to the church, Parliament came to the conclusion that the full rigor of the Clarendon Code must now be relaxed. In the Toleration Act (1689) it provided that the organization and the public worship of non-Anglican Protestants should henceforth be lawful. The much smaller group of Catholics was not included in this parliamentary act of grace.

CHAPTER X

Beginnings of Dutch, English, and French Expansion

FOR A FULL century after the papal award of 1493 the monopoly of the overseas world thereby granted to Spain and Portugal was actually maintained. The East became the private preserve of the Portuguese. Nearly the whole of the West belonged to Spain; an exception, it will be remembered, was the eastern coast of South America, where the Portuguese had set up an empire of settlement.

The Dutch in the East Indies

During the course of the seventeenth century, however, after many earlier inroads, the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly was broken down by the states of northern Europe. England, Holland, France, Denmark, Sweden, even Prussia, founded trading posts in the East and colonies in the West. The Dutch and English proceeded simultaneously and side by side. Comrades in arms in the war with Spain, they decided, after the defeat of the Armada, to tap the rich Eastern trade at its source. In 1591 three English ships passed the Cape of Good Hope on their way to Ceylon, one ship returning with a cargo of pepper. In English history this voyage is as important as that of Da Gama in the history of Portugal a century earlier. In 1594 a fleet of four Dutch ships sailed eastward into the Portuguese preserve. Its commander was Cornelius Houtman, a Dutchman formerly in the Portuguese service to India. On the last day of the century a group of London merchants sought for and obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter for the famous British East India Company. Two years later the almost equally famous Dutch East India Company was chartered at Amsterdam by the States-General.

The two areas in the East in which Portugal was most firmly installed were the Malay Archipelago and the mainland of India. The Malay Archipelago includes a small number of quite large islands, such as Sumatra and Borneo and Java, and a large number of small islands. Among the latter are the famous Moluccas, or Spice Islands, one of which

was named by Europeans "Nutmeg Island." The wealth of the Moluccas in spices, together with the fact that they were weakly held by natives of primitive civilization, made these islands far more valuable, at least upon an immediate basis, than was the mainland of India. Fantastic profits were achieved by early traders—as much as 1200 per cent on a single voyage. An English fleet came back from Java in 1603 with a cargo of one million pounds of pepper, and its captain was knighted by King James I. Into this whole area Dutch and English merchants entered with eagerness and success. Though they began as allies, they soon became bitter rivals. In the conflict which followed, the Dutch had certain advantages. During their long war with Spain they had managed to capture the carrying trade of northern Europe. To shipping supremacy was added financial leadership, as we have seen. The business-like methods of the Dutch aided not a little in their capture of markets. In fact, the great weight which the Dutch were able to throw into trading enterprise is indicated by the enormous capital of their East India Company, amounting to a quarter of a billion dollars. We may contrast with this the original capital of the British East India Company, about one third of one million dollars.

By 1619 the Dutch had established themselves in the Malay Archipelago so firmly that they founded on the island of Java a capital city, Batavia, as the seat of their governor-general. To this capital the eight governments of the Dutch East Indies were subordinated. Four years later English trading posts in that area were closed out, and in the "Massacre of Amboyna" English traders were exterminated. Dutch trading methods were direct, sometimes forceful. Surplus commodities which might affect prices were burned; groves of clove and nutmeg trees which could not be controlled were destroyed. Revolts of the natives were frequent, but trading profits were consistently large. Shares in the Dutch East India Company were soon worth five times their par value, and for nearly two hundred years dividends were paid of $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 50 per cent.

Having consolidated their hold on the Spice Islands and the larger islands round about, the Dutch proceeded to capture the trade of China and Japan. The Portuguese port of Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, which controlled that trade, was taken in 1641. The island of Formosa, from which tea was brought to western Europe, was already in Dutch hands. The western trade of Japan also passed to the Dutch, where it remained as a strict monopoly until the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile considerable exploring was done by Dutch sailors in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, especially during the governorship of Van Diemen (1630–1645). New Holland, later called Australia, and New Zealand were discovered. Tasmania takes its name

from one of the Dutch captains of the period. These discoveries, however, were not followed up by settlement. We must remind ourselves that the Dutch, at least in the East, were traders not colonizers. All Dutch possessions in the East taken from the Portuguese were confirmed to them and formally resigned by Portugal in the Peace of Münster in 1648. Three years later the Dutch founded on the southern tip of Africa a colony whose function was to supply fresh food and water for their trading fleets, the colonists being governed directly by the Dutch East India Company and allowed no self-governing privileges.

The English in India

Driven from the rich trade of the Malay Archipelago, English traders turned to India. In those days that great subcontinent of Asia was enjoying substantial political unity under the Great Moguls, Mohemmedan conquerors who had come down from the north in the previous century. Akbar the Great (1556-1605), the wisest of this line, was a contemporary of Elizabeth. Shah Jahan (1628-1658), a successor, was a contemporary of King Charles I of England and is famous as the builder of the Taj Mahal, the Pearl Mosque at Agra, and the marble palaces of Delhi. King James I, at the behest of the British East India Company, had sent an ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, to India in 1615. James was informed that for the present the Portuguese controlled Indian trade with Europe. To English persistence the Indian authorities finally yielded, however, and on the northwest coast of India at Surat, in 1616, in a single rented building the British East India Company set up its first permanent trading post. In 1640 the company purchased from a local potentate land on the east coast of India upon which it erected a fort. This became in time the city of Madras. Soon thereafter English trading posts were also established in the Bengal region, on the northeast coast. Bombay, which came to England from Portugal in 1661 as a part of the dowry of Charles II's queen, supplemented Surat in the northeast. Thus at the close of the seventeenth century England had three coastal areas of India in which she prosecuted her trading activities. England was not alone, however. European rivals in plenty had meanwhile arrived, and many Portuguese trading posts still remained, especially on India's western coast. Most significant for the future were two trading posts of France, one at Pondicherry, eighty miles south of Madras, established in 1674, and the other at Chandarnagar, a little to the north of the English trading posts in the Bengal region, set up in 1676.

The East Indies trade of Britain and France in the seventeenth century was of small importance to either country. Britain's India trade was

less than one half the value of her trade with her own few islands in the West Indies. Small in volume as it was, however, the India trade was closely interrelated to colonial trade as a whole. The calicoes and cottons of India, bought with bullion from the West, were carried to the western coast of Africa and there exchanged for slaves, whose destination was the sugar plantations of the West Indies.

Dutch, French, and English in the New World

In the trade of the New World, Dutch, French, English, and other northern peoples had long shared, but at second hand, having to ship their goods to Cadiz or Seville. As the weakness of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly became apparent, northern states were no longer content with a secondary position. The prospect of a first-hand supply of the precious metals excited their avidity. Even a little experience, however, quickly demonstrated that gold and silver were by no means universally to be found in the New World. The thought of the north European peoples then turned to the establishment of colonies of settlement, both as markets for manufactures and as sources of furs, fish, sugar, and tobacco. Colonies of settlement were the more desirable since there was considerable economic distress in Europe. For over a century Mexican silver and Peruvian gold had been flowing into Europe. As a result, European peoples had experienced the greatest price revolution in history. In 1650 English prices, for example, were over three times what they had been in 1500. In less than a century the French livre had declined in value from an equivalent of \$12.20 to one of \$2.40. The peak of distress for Europe's working classes came just after 1600, and for over a hundred years they sought cheaper land and better conditions of life overseas. Throughout the seventeenth century there was also, in the countries of northern Europe, a certain amount of religious persecution. As compared with the price revolution, however, this was a migration factor of much less importance.

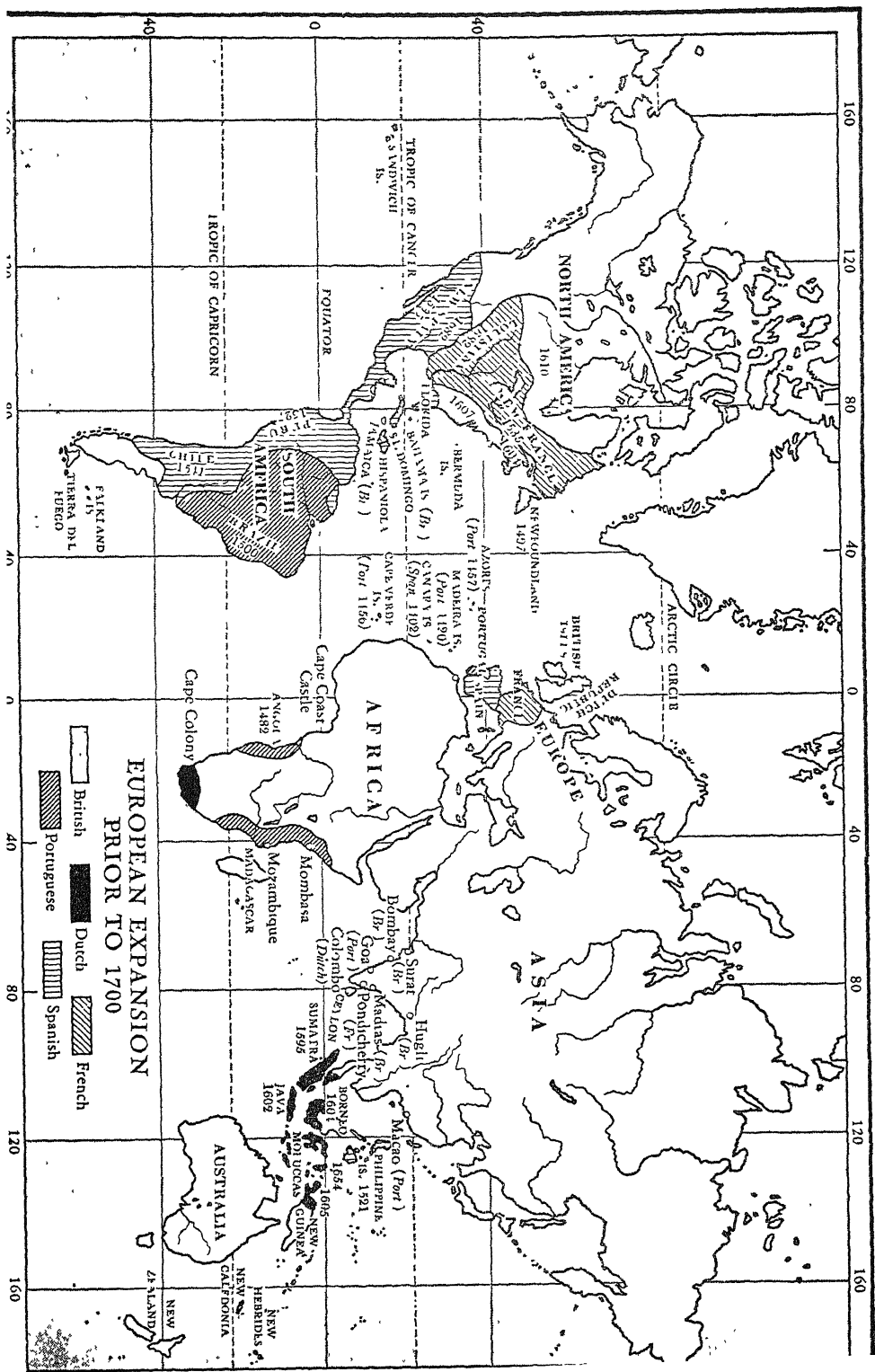
In the Western world as in the East we may distinguish between a region of islands and the mainland. Like the East Indies, the West Indies consist of a few large islands plus a veritable multitude of smaller ones. To the Spice Islands of the East correspond the even smaller Sugar Islands of the West. The cultivation of sugar cane was general there after 1640. The export of sugar to Europe soon became the greatest factor in the prosperity of the West Indies; and so it remained for many decades, since the consumption of sugar by Europeans both rich and poor spread widely. Sugar cane requires for its cultivation a large supply of relatively unskilled labor, and this need was met by the importation of Negro slaves. Mortality was high among them, and the birth rate, as is usual among

Negroes held in bondage, was low. It therefore became necessary to maintain the labor supply by the importation of fresh thousands of slaves year by year. The successful maintenance of plantations in the West Indies was thus closely linked with the activities of the chain of slave stations which the states of Europe maintained on the west coast of Africa. Today persons of pure Negro stock are in a large majority throughout the West Indies, and the next largest population group is mixed African and European.

Of great economic importance, the West Indies had high strategic value as well. Extending in a crude arc from Florida on one continent to Venezuela on the other, the islands command the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. Their possession, therefore, gives to that power which can control them a great advantage in a contest for dominion in South, Central, and North America.

The four Greater Antilles, Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica, had long been in the possession of Spain. Indeed, Cuba and Haiti had been discovered and claimed for Spain by Columbus on his first voyage. Together these four islands comprise three quarters of the land surface of the West Indies. During the first half of the seventeenth century the northern European states began the occupation of the Lesser Antilles. The Dutch were at war with Spain through much of that period, as were the English and French governments from time to time down to 1660. Governmental activities, however, counted for little in comparison with the piratical activities of Dutch, English, and French sailors, who used the innumerable small islands as bases for attack on Spanish trade. The principal headquarters of these sailors was the island of Tortuga, near Haiti. The word *buccaneer* is derived from the French word *boucanes*, meaning "wood fire," the means employed at Tortuga and elsewhere to dry meat. *Freebooter*, on the other hand, is from the Dutch *vliebooten*, a word meaning "flying boat." The importance of the pirates of the period is indicated by the fact that it was with the help of buccaneers that Cromwell captured Jamaica from Spain in 1655. At about the same time also the French, with buccaneer aid, captured the western half of Haiti. Henry Morgan, admiral of the buccaneering fleet, who had begun life in the West Indies as a British indentured servant, was rewarded for his services by knighthood and a commission as the first British governor of Jamaica.

As the profits of piracy diminished and sugar planting increased, the Dutch gradually withdrew from the West Indies, leaving the British and French to share the smaller islands nearly evenly between them. By 1639 there were approximately fifty thousand British planters in the British West Indies; the single island of Barbados, only twenty-one miles long by fifteen wide, had a larger British population than the whole of New



England. As we have seen, British trade with her West Indies was twice as valuable as her trade with the East. French East Indian trade was insignificant in comparison even with the value of the sugar produced by her two West Indian islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

The mainland of North America, it will be recalled, was long regarded as a stumbling block in the path to India. The interest of north European states in the new continent first manifested itself in an eager, not to say frantic, though futile search for a northwest passage. Meanwhile the rich fishing grounds off Newfoundland were exciting a strong attraction upon northern sailors, whether Dutch, English, or French. Later came colonies of settlement, based upon a varied economy of farming, planting, cattle raising, lumbering, and fur trading.

English sailors were first drawn to the fisheries off Newfoundland after Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage thither in 1583. The prospect of the discovery of a northwest passage was the driving force in many a subsequent English voyage of exploration. John Davis, about 1590, discovered the strait that bears his name. Hendrik Hudson, a Dutch captain in English employ, discovered Hudson's Bay in 1611. In 1615-1616 William Baffin carried the flag of England still further west. Thus was established England's claim to the Hudson's Bay region. French and Dutch sailors were gradually driven from the Newfoundland fisheries, and by the middle of the seventeenth century approximately 10,000 Englishmen were employed here.

First English Colonies in North America

Meanwhile the first permanent colony of English settlers was founded at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. There were 105 adventurers, all men; among them, two goldsmiths, two refiners, and one jeweler. Wealth did not come easily or quickly; the sufferings of the colonists were many and great. Eventually the survivors turned to less spectacular endeavors and raised tobacco. Ten tons of the "weed" were shipped to England in 1617, and the Virginians were thus assured of a steady income. The crude and necessary work in the fields was at first done by white indentured servants, who paid for their passage money in several yearly installments of labor. Later on the chief labor supply was Negro slaves, of whom twenty were landed from a Dutch ship in 1619. King James of England, for whom the first settlement was named, was made exceedingly angry by the tobacco smokers, and he expressed his dislike at some length in *A Counterblast against Tobacco*. Smoking, he wrote, is a custom "loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and the black, stinking fume thereof, nearest resembles the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless."

In 1609 part of a squadron voyaging to Jamestown was wrecked on the shores of Bermuda, which thus became the site of England's second permanent settlement in the West. The third English settlement came in 1620 with the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. The Pilgrims were mainly extreme Puritans from the eastern counties of England who had gone into voluntary exile in Holland shortly after the Hampton Court Conference closed the door of their hopes. A dozen years later they migrated to America, after seeking financial backing and further recruits in London. Further important settlements, in and around Boston, began in 1628. The outward flow of English people that followed (1628-1640) is one of the most important events in American history. This emigration was due almost entirely to the High Church policy of King Charles I as enforced by Archbishop Laud. By 1640 more than 22,000 had made their way to Massachusetts Bay.

We need not retell here the familiar story of the settlement of the other New England colonies, which followed shortly. Every group of English settlers was determined that their rights as Englishmen should suffer no diminution on colonial soil. Every colonial charter provided in substance that "all who dwell in the new lands shall enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities as if they were abiding and had been born in England." Furthermore, each English colony was granted a measure of self-government. Naturally, Englishmen of the period would have accepted nothing less; but it is well to note that we have encountered here something new in the history of colonization. Except to a limited extent in the Dutch colonies of America, no other European colonists were allowed self-governing rights.

The French in North America

French enterprise in the new world began early. While Pizarro was conquering Peru, Jacques Cartier, in 1534-1536, was making his way up the St. Lawrence River. The Frenchman thought he was well on the way to China, as is suggested by the name *La Chine* assigned to the rapids he encountered just above the site of Montreal. It was on this voyage that Cartier, hearing the natives refer to their collection of huts as *kannata* and thinking they were referring to the land as a whole, applied to it the name of "Canada." This beginning was not followed up. Foreign and civil wars occupied the French monarchy until the close of the century. When at last King Henry IV had made an end of these and turned to measures of reconstruction, he gave a ready ear to the adventurous Frenchmen who were urging him to back their enterprises. In 1603 Samuel de Champlain visited the region of the St. Lawrence first entered by Cartier. On his return he persuaded the king not only that a perma-

nent colonial settlement in that area was possible but that it would be definitely advantageous for France. In 1608, on his third ship, Champlain founded at Quebec on July third the first permanent French settlement on the American continent. It grew but slowly. There was little fertile soil immediately available and the climate, needless to say, did not favor the production of those tropical and semitropical commodities which European peoples looked for from overseas. The principal economic resource of New France became and remained for many decades the fur trade. Fur-bearing animals had all but vanished from southern and central Europe by this time, but in Canada the numbers of such animals were as limitless as the woods themselves. Another important factor in the continued life of the French colony was the heroic and self-forgetful devotion of Jesuit missionaries, of whom the first arrived in 1625. By the middle of the century there were only a few hundred Frenchmen in the St. Lawrence valley, however, as compared with thousands in the West Indies. Moreover, powerful tribes of hostile Indians threatened New France with extinction.

Dutch colonies in the mainland of North America were even less important than Dutch settlements in the West Indies, which themselves were small. The Dutch government continued to be preoccupied with its rich trade in the Far East, and colonies of settlement did not appeal to it. The West Indies attracted Dutch attention almost wholly as a base for preying upon Spanish and Portuguese commerce, as we have seen. With infallible foresight the Dutch seized upon the site of New York as the capital of their North American colony, and New Amsterdam became the principal town of their New Holland. New Amsterdam quickly became an important outlet for the fur trade of the interior. The maintenance of a minimum population in New Holland taxed Dutch ingenuity to the utmost. One plan was to grant a large holding and certain rights of government to any Dutch merchant who would export to the New World and keep at his own expense at least fifty families. Of no little importance in the life of the colony was the vigorous rule of Peter Stuyvesant, governor from 1647 onwards. By 1660 the white population of New Holland was about 10,000, of whom 1600 lived in New Amsterdam.

Dutch-English Wars

It was not to be expected that the states engaged in western enterprises would long remain at peace with each other. In the Far East the Dutch and English were early at war, and their conflict soon spread to west Africa, the West Indies, and the mainland of North America. The western phase of the Dutch-English conflict began in the middle of the seventeenth century and continued for about twenty-five years.

The United Netherlands had been a republic from the beginning, as we have seen, though a position of special authority was always reserved for the house of Orange. William II, however, had died suddenly in 1650 and his heir was a son, born a week later. Under these circumstances the Dutch turned for leadership during the next quarter of a century to Jan De Witt, a staunch republican, bold, eloquent, and patriotic. England, in 1650, was also a republic, the execution of Charles I having preceded by one year the death of the head of the house of Orange. Union rather than war might well have been the preference of the two small seafaring republics in a world of hereditary dynasties. Indeed, the union of the two countries was proposed by the English Parliament, under Cromwell's leadership, in 1651. The Dutch declined, being unwilling to limit in any way their freedom of action. Thereupon the English Parliament passed, in the same year, a Navigation Act which provided that all English exports must thereafter be carried in English ships and that imports must be carried either in English ships or in the ships of the producing countries. This act struck a heavy blow at the Dutch carrying trade. The aggressive temper of the English is revealed in their further demand that all Dutch ships using the English Channel must strike their flags to English ships.

The Dutch met these measures with defiance, and a war followed, fought wholly on the sea. The Dutch were led by one of their most famous admirals, Tromp. The English fleets were led by Blake, formerly a cavalry officer in Cromwell's army. In two years there were no fewer than eight naval battles, in one of them as many as a hundred ships being engaged on each side. At one stage of the war the British established a blockade of the Dutch coast line and, for the moment, completely strangled Dutch trade. In a final desperate effort, however, the blockade was broken. Tromp was killed in the battle. Upon the whole, in the actual fighting the Dutch more than held their own against the English, but their merchant shipping had suffered very heavy losses. The total value of Dutch prizes taken by the English was more than double that of the whole English merchant fleet. Peace was made in 1654. The Dutch then agreed to salute English ships and to pay compensation for the lives of English traders lost at the Massacre of Amboyna thirty years earlier. The most important cause of the war, the English Navigation Act, was not mentioned in the treaty, but it was tacitly accepted by the Dutch.

In reality, this treaty did not establish peace; it merely postponed strife. The leaders of England had by now committed themselves to the expansion of overseas trade and the extension of colonial settlements as matters of national policy. That had been the intention of Cromwell. Still more was it the intention of the statesmen of the Restoration. Under

their leadership Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas were founded; New York and New Jersey were taken from the Dutch. This last exploit occurred when a renewal of war was imminent. There followed the Second Dutch War, 1665-1667. The English navy was now able to inflict much further damage on Dutch shipping. The Dutch were the more willing to make peace because Louis XIV of France, it seemed, had laid plans for the annihilation of the Dutch Republic. In return for the Dutch possessions in North America, England conceded that goods coming to her shores from the Rhine valley or the Spanish Netherlands might be carried by Dutch ships.

The end of the conflict between England and the Dutch Republic marks a definite stage in the growth of European empires. As between the Dutch and English, leadership now passed to the latter. The Dutch lost the whole of their North American empire, and in 1678 the Dutch West India Company went out of existence. In the Far East, Holland lost little, but there was set a definite limit which the Dutch seemed inclined to accept. They settled down to exploit to the utmost their rich empire in and around the Malay Archipelago. At home the Dutch were forced, by French aggression, to enter upon a long struggle for national existence. During its course they came to be dependent more and more on England. The marriage in 1677 of Mary, heir presumptive to the English throne, and Prince William III of Orange inaugurated an era of closer relationship between the two countries.

The decline of the Dutch empire was important for England, but the advance of the French empire was more so. The story of this advance, of the momentous conflict between the French empire and the British and of the complete victory of the latter, is the culminating phase of the "old imperialism" and will be reserved for a later chapter.

SECTION THREE



The Old Regime at Its Height 1660-1789

EUROPEAN SOCIETY having largely escaped the confines of medieval times, its growth during the century and a half following the Peace of Westphalia became free and vigorous. The dominant political form was now the state whose nucleus, at least, was a nation. In the life of the nation a middle class of merchants, craftsmen, and professional men took an increasing part. Political leadership was supplied by hereditary monarchs who shared social leadership with a class of landed nobility. The church was no longer the rival of the state. In Catholic countries no interference by the church in political matters was allowed. In Protestant lands the church was little more than a department of the government. The state as power was a concept with which the statesmen of the period were increasingly preoccupied. More closely centralized authority was one road to power; the increase of military strength, another. More fundamental still was the intelligent promotion of the economic life of the people. Mercantilism now reached its zenith, and the building of an overseas empire became a prime objective of power politics. Colonial outposts were more valued as strategical bases and posts of trade than as opportunities for colonists.

In this age France was easily predominant, whether in population, economic development, international relations, or cultural advancement. Spain and Sweden were on the down grade. Holland was content to

remain small and prosperous. Russia emerged as a first-class European power, and began the slow absorption of Western culture which even today is by no means complete. The Holy Roman Empire of the German nation justified to the full Voltaire's quip that it was neither holy nor Roman nor an empire. Politically impotent, Germany was culturally great, "lacking in deeds but rich in thought." The reverse was true of part of Germany, however. For the first time, though not the last, Prussia startled Europe with its power and ruthlessness.

Intellectually this was an age of rationalism, the first such period in Europe's history since Rome fell. Rationalism owed something to the cumulative effect of classical studies to which the educated world of Europe had returned with such zeal at the Renaissance. It owed much more to the contemporary advance in science, the greatest in history thus far. To epoch-making developments in the physical sciences were added pioneering achievements in the social sciences. It appeared that every human institution must find a rational basis for its existence or perish. Monarchs sought to found their rule on reason; churches ceased to command and began to persuade.

Great as was the civilization of this period, it was not a civilization of or for the masses. Its increased prosperity, its enlightenment, its amenities of life did not extend below the upper middle class. The institutions and the culture of the age did much credit to the mind of man, but not his heart. There remained to be achieved "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

CHAPTER XI

The Old Regime: Political Thought, Social Conditions, Scientific Advance

WE HAVE NOTED the differentiation of political universalism, under emperor or pope, into separate nation-states under local dynasties. Within the nation-states there was a marked trend toward centralization of authority. Medieval kings, for example, had dispensed justice, but along side of royal courts there had been ecclesiastical courts and the private courts of landed magnates. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the monarchs of western Europe sought to liquidate every such power within the state that competed with their own. In this process they secured the support of the growing middle class, which required in its enterprises the security and the support which a strong government alone could give.

Absolutism and Divine Right

The domestic crises and civil wars attendant upon the religious revolution also contributed to the centralizing of power. When French Catholics and Huguenots sought to establish rival governments within the nation, some Frenchmen were driven by the logic of hard facts to affirm the indivisibility of sovereignty and the absolute authority of monarchy. Jean Bodin (1539-1596) was the best known of such writers, his work on the science of government, the greatest since Aristotle, being widely studied. "All the characteristics of sovereignty," said Bodin, "are contained in this, to have power to give laws to each and every one of his subjects and to receive none from them." Another powerful protagonist of absolutism was the Englishman Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). Born in the year of the Armada, Hobbes lived to see the time of trouble when Parliament battled with the king, and Cromwell's army triumphed over both. As Hobbes put it, he and fear "like twins were born together." In his *Leviathan*, published in 1651, he asserts that in a state of nature men are all equally endowed with rights. But since every man's hand will be against every other man, there will be a condition of "continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty,

brutish, and short." For the sake of peace, therefore, and to the end that some at least of the amenities of civilized life may be secured, all men must transfer some of their rights to a sovereign. This transfer must be final, and the authority of the sovereign is absolute.

Bodin and Hobbes sought a basis for absolutism in experience and in reason, but the more prevalent view was that the basis for the unrestrained authority of a king was divine right. Men were religiously minded in those days, and a scriptural foundation for all things was as natural for them as a scientific basis is for us. "By me kings reign and princes decree justice" was quoted from the Old Testament; and "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," from the New. In general, the sovereigns of the period were happy to endorse the principle of divine right. James I of England affirmed that "Monarchie is the trew paterne of Divinitie," and he proceeded at great length to lay a Scriptural foundation for his view. His son Charles, rejecting the Puritan thesis of popular sovereignty, said on the scaffold, "As for the people, truly I desire their liberty as much as any man whomsoever; but as for their having a share in government, that is nothing pertaining unto them; a subject and a sovereign are clean different things." We have noted the contributions to the theory and practice of divine-right absolutism made by Philip II and Henry IV. Under Louis XIV of France this form of government attained its highest perfection. The French crown was held to be the sole source of authority. "As wills the king so wills the law" was a maxim of the French courts. The judges were merely the king's delegates; their decisions could be modified or set aside by the king, and frequently were. The king of France was the sole proprietor; all the possessions of his subjects were his. It was the official view of the French clergy that the king's responsibility was to God alone; to disobey the king was not only treason, it was sin.

It is easy to criticize the theory of divine right but not so easy to imagine a more satisfactory substitute for it. The masses were patently unfit to govern themselves. Their ignorance and superstition, their economic weakness, their habitual deference, were barriers as yet insuperable between them and the practice of self-government. Where the middle class was strong enough and its political traditions long enough established, parliamentary institutions might displace government by divine right, but such areas in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe were neither numerous nor large.

Mercantilism

Mercantilism, the active intervention of government in the economic life of the nation, was, we have seen, pursued even in early modern times by the princes of Italy and the monarchies of western Europe. In the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this type of economic nationalism was at its height, both in theory and practice, not only in absolutist states like France but also in countries like England and Holland where bourgeois classes controlled the institutions of government. Indeed, unity and strength, economic and political, were necessities of state in an age when domestic or foreign war was at all times an impending menace.

Mercantilism aimed at the attainment of economic unity by the clearing away of barriers to internal trade, by the standardizing of coinage, by the enforcement of uniform systems of weights and measures, and by the improvement and extension of transportation facilities. It aimed at increased production through the encouragement of agriculture and the stimulation of industry, for only so could a state attain a degree of self-sufficiency that would enable it to withstand the recurrent shocks of war. Mercantilism also meant, in the thought of the day, the accumulation of a reserve stock of precious metals to assure both a plentiful currency and a backlog for war. To this end an extensive foreign trade was deemed essential. Thomas Mun, director of the British East India Company, writing in 1664, put the point plainly: "The ordinary means to encrease our wealth and treasure is by foreign trade, wherein we must ever observe this rule: to sell more to strangers yearly than we consume of theirs in value." A favorable balance of trade would result in a reserve of gold and silver in countries which could not draw directly upon the mines of the New World. Trading posts in the Old World and colonies of settlement in the New were thus objects of policy for the statesmen of Europe. Since, in the view of mercantilists, the amount of wealth and therefore of trade in the world was strictly limited, it might be necessary for one state to seize the colonies of another.

Governments of Europe went to great lengths in regulating the economic life of their peoples. The importation of commodities which competed with home industries was frequently prohibited. Detailed regulations relating to domestic manufactures were enforced in order to maintain standards and thus assure a steady market abroad. To keep domestic output at desired levels, the most minute control was attempted in the relations of capital and labor. Altogether, the limitations upon free enterprise exceeded anything seen in more recent times until the advent of the totalitarian states.

Most of the states of Europe fell short of the mercantilist ideal to a greater or lesser degree. Spain was unable at any time to qualify as a full-fledged mercantilist state. She had bullion and she had trade, but her agriculture and her industries soon passed into a state of decline. Portugal also was unbalanced from a mercantilist point of view. After her recovery of dynastic independence in 1640, Portugal centered her economic policy

on the development of her empire in Brazil. Her home industries, never well developed, were further handicapped by commercial treaties with England under which wine was traded for textiles. Holland was somewhat unbalanced on the side of trade, her industries producing largely for export. Dutch prosperity, though brilliant for a while, was brittle. English economic policy, before the time of Cromwell, was devoted chiefly to the strengthening of home industries. Repeated efforts, for example, were made to place clothmaking on a firm basis. Newer industries were encouraged by the grant of a monopoly of the right of manufacture and sale. After 1650, however, mercantilist emphasis shifted attention to colonial and foreign trade, and the rising commercial class more and more shaped national policies. In Prussia, where colonies were entirely lacking, mercantilist aims were concentrated upon agricultural and industrial development at home, and with great success. In the realm of economic policy no less than in others a skilled and powerful bureaucracy played a conspicuous part.

France alone, perhaps, attained the mercantilist ideal. Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV, made "Colbertism" a synonym for mercantilism. Agriculture, industry, shipping, foreign and colonial trade—all these France had in generous supply, and they were so intelligently blended by Colbert that French mercantilism became the standard of Europe. (See below, pp. 211-212.)

War the Instrument of National Policy

During the seventeenth century there were but four years during which Europe was free from war. In the eighteenth, wars were not so continuous, but they were more all-inclusive of the powers of Europe. It may, indeed, be said that in this age war was a normal element of civilization. Under the competitive state system recurrent war was practically a law of nations. Many elements of society had a vested interest in war. Monarchs, rightly or wrongly, felt obliged to seek foreign triumphs in order to maintain or enhance their authority at home. In war the nobility found honorable and lucrative employment, for to that class were reserved the highest posts of command. Furthermore, war provided the nobles with employment as diplomats and as governors of conquered provinces. Merchants and manufacturers found in the large standing armies of the period the "first great markets for mass consumption." Even the landed magnates competed for the contracts for supplying the armies with grain; many landlords transformed their ancestral estates into capitalistic farms. Indeed, there is some truth in the view that war was not so much the effect of the rise of capitalism as its cause.

The banking interests profited from war, though less directly than formerly. Military and naval enterprises were now on so vast a scale that they transcended the ability of private bankers to finance them. Governments found it necessary to draw upon the entire investing public and to provide as broad a borrowing base as possible by the founding of national debts. The scale of military expenditure may be seen in the following facts. In the middle of the eighteenth century, in the midst of a great war, 90 per cent of the Prussian budget was earmarked for military purposes. It is estimated that two thirds of the French budget was devoted to the same purpose. The biggest wartime spender of all, however, was Great Britain.

Professional Armies

With war as a normal function of the state, standing armies were inevitable; military forces must be constantly in service, summer and winter, during intervals of peace as well as when fighting was going on. On the eve of the great wars of the eighteenth century the army of France numbered 200,000; the Russian army, 130,000; the Austrian, 100,000; the Prussian, 80,000; the Spanish, 70,000; and the Dutch, 30,000. England, as befitted a country whose main dependence was on sea power, had an army of but 18,000; indeed, England's king had under his command a larger army in his native Hanover than in England.

By modern standards these armies seem small, but the basis of the armies of the old regime was voluntary recruiting. Their ranks were filled with professional soldiers who fought for pay. War being more or less constant, it was deemed important that the normal functioning of the economic order be not disturbed. Statesmen of the period saw to it that so far as possible soldiers were drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. Many a beggar and vagabond found a home in the army. In the more prosperous states the unemployed usually proved insufficient and recourse was had to recruitment from the poorer countries. Switzerland was a good source of supply, partly because of her poverty and partly because the Swiss were among the first to employ modern military methods. Other countries whose sons were found in the armies of France, Austria, Prussia, and England were Scotland and the almost innumerable states of Germany. Only in Russia was there a truly national army. There, with feudalism still in the ascendant, each landlord was obliged to supply the army with a certain number of serfs.

Under most circumstances professional soldiers fought well enough. When things went badly, however, wholesale desertions became the rule. It is said that in Prussia, where fully 50 per cent of the army was recruited from abroad, half the soldiers stood guard on a certain occasion to prevent

the other half from escaping. The officer class was drawn almost wholly from the nobility. The power of command was instinctive in the members of that order, even though they might no longer have serfs to command at home. The social chasm between the nobility and the common soldiers was so vast that no other relationship than that of officers and men was possible. In general, the nobles were not highly satisfactory as officers. Many were restless under discipline or too indolent to master the technique of their profession.

The Art of War

Great improvements were being made in the art of war. Cavalry continued to be a useful branch of the service, especially after the horsemen learned to use firearms rather than the lance. More important, however, and increasingly so as time went on, was the infantry. The weapons of the infantry had been standardized at two, the pike and the musket. Muskets were extremely heavy and clumsy, by modern standards, and were loaded by hand at the muzzle. A matchlock musket required the application of a lighted taper to discharge it. Later, this method of firing was replaced by the more convenient flintlock. It was customary for the musketeers, having fired their weapons, to retire behind the pikemen to reload. An event of decisive importance was the adoption by the French, in the age of Louis XIV, of the bayonet. This supplied the infantrymen with two weapons in one.

Improvements in discipline and mobility were even more important than changes in weapons. First, a uniform battle dress came into use. This was an event of special significance in the history of military discipline, as will readily be appreciated by anyone who has worn a uniform. The blue and yellow of Sweden became famous, and the red of the British still more so, the latter being introduced by Cromwell, the founder of seven of Britain's noted regiments. Increased mobility and maneuverability were achieved by the ingenuity of a succession of able military leaders. Long days of training took place in winter quarters, and there was much practice in sham battles. Frederick of Prussia consistently defeated armies larger than his own by the greater military dexterity of his forces. Military engineering reached a high point of perfection, especially in France. This was due, in the main, to the genius of Vauban. Strongholds which he set out to besiege were given up for lost, while those which he built were deemed impregnable. His fortress of Belfort, for example, withstood a siege of three months as late as 1870. The French, indeed, were consistently outstanding in the practice of the art of war. Between the years 1642 and 1704 France never lost a battle. The achievement of such a record was due, of course, not only to military skill but also to

France's vast resources which assured her armies of regular pay and adequate equipment and supplies. Incredible as it may seem, high standards of discipline were enforced in the French officer class. Members of the French nobility were made to toe the line. One of the army inspectors was so successful in this respect that his name, Martinet, is established as a byword for severity.

Navies

The modern navy, consisting of fleets of fighting ships built to order and always in service, is the creation of the seventeenth century. It came clear during the Anglo-Dutch wars that big warships could dominate the fighting, and such ships were built, thereafter, by every state which took its sea power seriously. A really big ship carried as many as seventy-two guns, 32- to 42-pounders on the lower deck, and 12- to 18-pounders on the upper. Seafaring countries like England and Holland had certain obvious advantages in building and maintaining navies. For one thing, they had a good supply of trained personnel in their merchant fleets; for another, they had shipbuilding facilities which could be drawn upon at will. Even after merchantmen disappeared from the battle line, the English government continued to subsidize shipbuilders who would build merchant ships large enough to be transformed into warships in time of need.

The French navy was never anything more than an artificial creation. It was wholly subordinate to the army, indeed, little more than a department of it. One advantage which France had in her long conflict with England, however, was the superiority of her naval architects. A French ship of fifty-two guns could engage on even terms a British ship of seventy-two. A great disadvantage of the French, on the other hand, and one from which they never escaped, was the rule that naval officers must be drawn wholly from the nobility. From the start the British navy had drawn some of its officers from an entirely different stratum of society, namely, that of the common sailor. Many a British admiral—for example, Rooke, Hawke, Anson, and Boscawen—began his career at sea as a cabin boy; "tarpaulin admirals," they were called. Another source of supply of skilled officers was the Royal Naval Academy, founded by the British government in 1732. Britain's success against France on the sea during the eighteenth century was due largely to the superiority of her naval officers.

Conditions of life at sea in the ships of all countries were deplorable. Crowded quarters and dietary deficiencies combined to form a deadly menace to health. For every British sailor killed by the guns of the enemy, disease killed a hundred. Sailors who survived were usually "finished" at forty-five.

Most civilized people today look upon war as a measure of last resort, to be undertaken only if the security of the homeland is gravely threatened. There was little of this feeling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Land-hungry dynasties looked with covetous eyes upon the territories of their neighbors, awaiting only a favorable opportunity to engage in what we should call ruthless aggrandizement. Like a pack of wolves, a group of states would sometimes combine to attack a weaker nation. Thus, during the 1700's, concerted efforts were made to dismember Austria, Turkey, and Poland. In the last case the effort was successful.

Grotius, Advocate of International Law

Certain thinkers and philosophers there were who sought to rescue European society from perpetual war by placing the relations of nations on a more rational foundation. Among such the greatest was Huig de Groot, better known as Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). He published his famous treatise *De jure belli et pacis* in 1625 when Europe was suffering from a particularly destructive conflict. His book was eagerly and widely read, for Grotius was already a famous scholar and man of letters, occupying a position in his age something like that of Erasmus at an earlier time. At the age of fifteen, as the boy wonder of Holland, Grotius took his degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of Leyden. At twenty he was chosen official historian of the "War of Independence" by the government of the Dutch Republic, and at twenty-one he wrote out a first draft of his famous book on international law, though it was to be twenty years before he published it. There followed a busy career in a succession of important offices. Having the misfortune of taking the wrong side, really the right side, in a local religious controversy, Grotius, at the age of thirty-six, was sentenced to life imprisonment. He occupied his enforced leisure with books and writing, his devoted and resourceful wife at his side. Madame Grotius was in the habit of packing a heavy hamper with books and laundry for delivery at the home of friends. On one occasion the unsuspecting guards delivered a hamper somewhat heavier than usual, the savant himself supplying, this time, the weight of learning. Once escaped, Grotius spent most of his time in Paris, hoping always to return to his native land. But like Dante, another great thinker in the cause of peace, Grotius died in exile. His remains, returned to Holland, were honored with interment beside those of William the Silent, as his countrymen sought to make amends.

Grotius' book was already a classic. During his lifetime several universities founded chairs whose incumbents concerned themselves with expounding his views. Grotius tells us in his introduction his reason for

writing the book. "I see prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed of, recourse being had to arms for slight reasons or for no reason; and when arms are once taken up, all reverence for divine or human law is thrown away." Grotius had been a lawyer and public servant as well as a philosopher. As counsel for the Dutch East India Company he had drawn up a brief defending the right of his clients to enter the Portuguese preserve in the Far East, entitling his treatise *Mare liberum*, and arriving at the conclusion that the sea is free by nature. This concept of natural right became the basis of his thought. Among nations as among men there is law, he held. It remains but to discover and state it, a task no more difficult for the social scientist than for the mathematician. The basis of international law Grotius found in man's nature as a social being. "Man is, to be sure, an animal but an animal of a superior kind. . . . Among the traits characteristic of man is an impelling desire for society, not of any or every sort but peaceful and organized according to the measure of his intelligence." Since this is the nature of man, states, like individuals, are bound by rules of right and justice which may be discovered by observation and experience. As may be seen, Grotius makes no effort whatever to base his law on the Bible. Indeed, he held that the natural law of nations remained whether God existed or not. Not that he was hostile to religion; on the contrary he was a man of marked piety. Dogmas, however, impressed Grotius very little. He even attempted to reconcile Protestants and Catholics by formulating a code of common Christianity.

Grotius found that there were two occasions upon which it was right and just for states to go to war; first, to punish another state for an injury it had done, and second, for self-defense. Even just wars, however, should be carried on in accordance with certain rules, he held. The convenience of noncombatants should be considered. Peaceful occupations should be interfered with as little as possible, and war should be waged solely by men with whose lives the state can easily dispense. Many of his specific recommendations have become the subject of international agreement.

Having discovered and partly formulated a law of nations, Grotius also felt the need of uniting the states of Europe in some way or another. "It would be useful," he said, "and indeed it is almost necessary that certain congresses of Christian powers should be held, in which disputes among some of them may be decided by others who are not interested, and in which measures may be taken to compel the powers to accept peace upon just terms." Other men before Grotius as well as after have felt this need of union, and several of them drew up more or less elaborate schemes. One of the most famous of such plans was the "Grand Design"

of the French King Henry IV, really the work, it is presumed, of his minister Sully. Sully fixed the proper number of states in Europe at fifteen, comprising six hereditary monarchies, six elective monarchies, and three republics, with boundaries fixed as satisfactorily as possible. These states, he thought, should be federated into one Christian republic with two objectives: first, to expel the Turks from Europe, and second, to enforce toleration for the three principal divisions of the Christian faith, Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. War among the Christian states Sully would abolish by compelling them to submit their disputes to tribunals whose decisions should be enforced by a common army. To this army each state would contribute men and money according to its resources.

Most of the thinkers of the eighteenth century put their faith in the progressive improvement of society through education. As peoples became more enlightened and intelligent they would establish governments which would be just enough to avoid most of the causes of war, and wise enough to see that arbitration and not war is the best way to settle a dispute. Neither the sagacious utterances of philosophers nor the ingenious schemes of reformers, however, had any observable effect on international relations.

The Population of Europe

In the middle of the seventeenth century the population of Europe was still small. France had about eighteen million inhabitants; Spain, eight million; Germany, after a generation of war, about thirteen million. Russia, not yet a European state but soon to be one, had a population about equal to that of Germany. England had about four and one half million inhabitants; the Dutch Republic, under three million. The total population of the Italian peninsula was about thirteen million, the densest population in Europe. The three Scandinavian states had a population of about two million, the sparsest in Europe.

Social Classes

European society still retained its threefold division into clergy, nobility, and commons. Clergy and nobility together numbered about 1 per cent of the population, while owning, in Europe as a whole, about one half the land and two thirds of the total wealth. The social prestige of these two classes was very great. In an earlier day they had performed important functions in return for their many rights and privileges; but these functions, with the lapse of centuries, had greatly lessened. This was particularly true of the nobility, whose political power had dimin-

ished as that of the monarchs increased. The social chasm between nobility and commons remained as deep and as wide as ever. It seemed to be a case of the less power the more prestige and privilege.

The number and status of the nobility varied from country to country. The French nobility included about fifty thousand families, and all of the sons of a noble were noble. The role of the French nobility had become largely ornamental. Though still invested with considerable judicial authority, the nobles had little real power over their tenants. As one-time defenders of France the nobles were exempt from the *taille*,⁷ or land tax; but the high privilege of defending the state was monopolized by the king, and entrusted by him to a standing army in which the nobles played a strictly subordinate role. Nor was the economic position of the French nobility as solid as it once had been. Much land had passed from their control to peasant proprietors and the bourgeoisie. Such lands as the nobility retained, still from 10 to 50 per cent of the whole in the various provinces of France, no longer brought to its owners an adequate income. Rentals fixed in the middle ages remained substantially unchanged, though the purchasing power of the French unit of currency had declined greatly. Furthermore, though Louis XIV and his successors excluded the nobles as a class from all share in government, they insisted upon their presence at court, where a life of ruinous extravagance was imposed upon them by the royal example. The function of the nobles of the Old Regime was, then, largely social. They alone were fit associates of the king. Two professions only were open to them, the church and the army. Those who joined the clergy made scarcely any change in their way of life, and little change even in their outlook on life. The army was a stronghold of the nobility. Four paternal generations of noble ancestry were at one time a prerequisite for the office of second lieutenant. The legal profession had won some footing in the order of nobility, and many a judicial post invested its fortunate possessor, by purchase or otherwise, with a title; but these "nobility of the robe," as they were called, were looked down upon by the "nobility of the sword."

The more formal their powers, the more limited their income, the more purely social their function, the more tenaciously did the nobles of France cling to such privileges and authority as remained. Appearances must be kept up at all costs. Lines of social distinction must be kept sharp and clear. As individuals the French nobles, those "of the sword" at all events, held the maintenance of personal "honor" as the first article of their creed. The merest trifle sufficed to join two gentlemen in combat more or less deadly. Though strictly forbidden, dueling continued to flourish. The gentlemen of France "go to their deaths as if they were to rise next morning," said an Italian observer. Corneille once ventured to

portray a duel on the stage in the presence of distinguished dignitaries of church and state.

In England the landlord class included few magnates of the first importance, seventy perhaps, but a very much larger number of country gentlemen or squires, whose estates were of a few hundred acres rather than many thousands. The territorial magnates and the squires, between them, dominated Parliament and monopolized local government. The clergy was a mere appendage to this class, bishops being chosen from the larger families for the most part, parish clergy from the squirearchy. England differed from France also in the closeness of connection between the landed class and the middle class. Many a noble and squire invested in the great commercial companies of the period or strengthened his economic position by marrying junior members of the family to selected members of the bourgeoisie. The latter, for their part, held the nobility in the highest respect, cherishing the gentleman type as their highest social ideal.

The nobility of Spain, Portugal, and the Italian peninsula were on the French model, while those of Holland and Switzerland were more like the English. In Germany and Poland the nobility generally retained powers as well as privileges which had been lost in France and England several centuries earlier.

Middle Class and Peasantry

The most important social development of seventeenth century Europe was the increase of the middle class. In Holland this class was proportionately larger than in any other country; in England it was next largest. Of the chief countries of Europe, France had by far the most important middle class. In Spain and Portugal it was by now of diminishing importance; in Poland it was practically nonexistent. The expansion of industry and commerce was directly responsible for the increase in size and wealth of the middle class, though the growth of professions such as law and medicine was an important factor also. The backbone of industry was still the small craft-shop of the middle ages in which one or two skilled artisans, with a group of apprentices, manufactured the articles needed or desired by the men and women of a restricted locality. The artisans were still organized into guilds which regulated matters of common concern. The guild system, however, with its hampering effect upon free enterprise and its limitation of production was under attack from two quarters. First, the governments of the period were constantly nullifying guild regulations in the interest of a national economy. More important still was the entrance into the field of manufacture of a class of wealthy merchants. Some industries had already reached the factory stage

of development, and weaving, brewing, tanning, and sugar refining employed small armies of workers, skilled and unskilled. The urban population was made up, therefore, of a small "upper crust" of merchants, bankers, factory owners, and professional men, a substantial middle stratum of artisans and apprentices, and a swarm of factory hands, lackeys, and domestic servants, the future "proletariat." The growth of commerce will be dealt with later as an aspect of the imperialism of the eighteenth century.

In 1650 Europe had fewer than one hundred cities of ten thousand or more inhabitants. Paris had about half a million; London was a close second. Lyons (150,000) was the second largest city of France, followed by Marseilles and Bordeaux. In the British Isles no other city was even one tenth the size of London. Amsterdam, Berlin, and Vienna were, next to Paris, the largest cities north of the Alps. Venice was the largest city of the Italian peninsula, followed by Milan and Florence.

It is to be doubted that the middle class was much larger than the combined clergy and nobility. This meant that the peasants constituted the overwhelming majority of seventeenth-century populations, possibly 95 to 98 per cent. Serfdom had vanished from the more progressive countries of western Europe, leaving a small class of peasant proprietors, a much larger group of "sharecroppers," and a vast army of rural laborers. Though feudalism was gone, many of its vestiges remained to vex the peasantry. Landlords still exacted from an otherwise free peasantry toll for goods passing through the villages, tongues of animals slaughtered for food, the grinding of grain at specified mills, and the baking of bread at special ovens. The planting and cultivation of crops were hampered by regulations protecting the nesting of pheasants and the littering of rabbits. Growing grain was trampled under foot by galloping huntsmen. Pigeon lofts were maintained by landlords at the expense of the peasant's grain.

The living conditions and agricultural methods of the rural population had undergone no substantial change since medieval times. The wasteful three-field system was the rule, nor were fertilizers much more general than scientific crop rotation. Wheat land yielded about eight or nine bushels to the acre, which was about the thirteenth-century average. Agricultural tools had changed little since the middle ages. Selective breeding of livestock was still the exception. The average cow weighed about three hundred and fifty pounds; a sheep, thirty-five pounds. Peasants labored from dawn to dusk, lived in one-room cottages with earthen floors, few windows, and leaky roofs, and rarely traveled more than a few miles from the place of their birth.

Scientific Advance

The seventeenth century is the first great age of scientific advance. During its course scholars in their search for truth turned from traditional authority to the methodical study of nature. This did not make religious skeptics of them. It was their view that the laws of nature were the laws of God, and many scientists of the period were as zealous in their approach to God through science as medieval scholars had been in their approach through theology.

The world of practical affairs had now come to place a premium upon scientific research. Expanding commerce enlisted the services of mathematicians and astronomers and called for constantly improved techniques in shipbuilding. The new art of war created a demand for the study of the sciences of gunnery and fortification. In countries given over more and more to business, the development of a scientific habit of mind found a favorable environment. Business deals with concrete facts as precisely as possible; it engenders the "habit of quantitative thinking," which is the basis of scientific work.

To the scientific achievements of the new age all of the leading nationalities of western Europe contributed. Galileo was Italian; Descartes, French; Huygens, Dutch; Leibnitz, German; Harvey and Newton, English. The world of learned men was still one, the spread of information and ideas facilitated by the common use of Latin, which had not lost its hold as the language of learning. The printing press disseminated the news of scientific discoveries ever more quickly and widely. Improved transportation now made easier the movement of students from country to country. Among the unscientific, science became for the first time popular.

The Renaissance had had too much respect for the Greeks. Men were now to discover that Aristotle was sometimes ignorant and often in error. In the field of science, at least, the knowledge of the Greeks had been superseded. One of the first to foresee the role that science could and should play in the life of man was Francis Bacon (1560-1626), the English statesman and philosopher. This busy man strove in his moments of leisure to destroy the medieval mentality of his generation by insisting that its knowledge was vitiated with misinformation and based on false premises. The "wisdom which we have derived principally from the Greeks is but like the boyhood of knowledge," he affirmed, and he went on to emphasize the necessity of "dwelling purely and constantly among the facts of nature." Bacon's importance in the field of science lies in his appreciation of the role which science might play in lifting the life of man to a higher plane. He also thought that scientific research should be planned and

supported by the government. Bacon was not himself a research man, however, nor did he understand well the method of scientific research. He stood too close to the middle ages for that.

Medicine

During the sixteenth century, medicine made a great gain, as we have seen, when anatomists shook off the authority of Galen. By 1600 the medical students of Europe were nearly ready to rely for their knowledge of the structure of the human body upon what they could see with their own eyes. In the field of physiology, however, the study of how the body works, Galen's views still prevailed. According to the Greek, a man's health depends upon the maintenance, in proper proportion, of the various fluids or "humors" which fill his body—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. These fluids, Galen taught, are sucked into the heart, an organ of great innate heat, and there concocted (or cooked) and sent out into the body again. Air breathed into the lungs serves to keep down the temperature of the heart, an air-cooled motor, it would seem. When a disproportionate amount of a particular fluid is present, the afflicted person becomes phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholic, as the case may be. "Humor sometime hath his hour with every man," says Shakespeare. The sovereign remedy was to draw off a portion of the body fluid by cupping, or bloodletting.

This ancient theory of bodily humors was still being taught by Fabricius of Padua, the greatest anatomist of his time, in the year 1600. One of his pupils was a young Englishman named William Harvey (1578–1657). Harvey received from his master a "mixed teaching of the new anatomy and the old physiology." During his five years at Padua, however, he began to apply the experimental method in all fields of medicine. The brilliant use of this method in the fields of mechanics and physics by Galileo, also a teacher at Padua at the time, can scarcely have failed to influence the young Englishman. Upon his return to England Harvey, having privately repudiated the theory of bodily humors, determined, as he put it, to "give his mind to vivisections." There followed years of experiments, observations, and measurements which often seemed to lead nowhere. The unhappy man was tempted at one time to conclude that "the motion of the heart is only to be comprehended by God." The view at which Harvey finally arrived was published in 1628 in a volume entitled *The Movement of the Heart and Blood*. In this book Harvey disposed of the old physiology as effectively as Vesalius had disposed of the old anatomy in 1543. From the heart, said Harvey, the blood flows outward through the arteries to the tissues, and from the tissues it flows back again to the heart

through the veins. Finally the blood passes through the lungs from the right to the left side of the heart, thus completing "a motion as it were in a circle." Having no microscope, Harvey did not know how the blood got from the small visible arteries to the small visible veins; nor did he understand what happened to the blood during its passage through the lungs. Eagerly welcoming Harvey's discoveries, other scientists, Italian, Dutch, and English, armed with microscopes, discovered the minute channels known as capillaries which join the arteries with the veins. They also discovered that during its passage through the lungs venous blood is transformed into arterial blood through exposure to air. Indeed, one of the English researchers (John Mayow, 1640-1679) came to the conclusion that only a part of the air was taken up, that part being "a certain vital, fiery, and in the highest degree fermentative spirit." It was over one hundred years later that this "spirit" was identified and labeled "oxygen."

Medical students and teachers laid the foundations of other sciences: of botany through their use of herbs as remedies; of zoology through their study of animals in connection with human anatomy and physiology; and of chemistry as a result of their expanding knowledge of the curative properties of certain chemical substances. Botanic gardens were established in the leading cities of Italy as early as the sixteenth century. The practice of founding such gardens soon spread to Holland and other countries. Descriptions of plants, called "herbals," some of them lavishly illustrated, were published in the same century. With the use of the microscope, in the next century, came a knowledge of the anatomy of plants, followed rapidly by the study of function. The Italian Malpighi (1628-1694), a physician and teacher at Bologna, made important contributions to botanical knowledge. The existence of sex in plants was discovered by him, though he did not understand the process or the importance of fertilization.

Zoological gardens appeared earlier in Europe than botanic gardens, but they long remained an expression of man's interest in the curious and the bizarre. The scientific study of animals, however, paralleled that of plants both in time and in procedure. Indeed, most of the seventeenth-century botanists were also zoologists, and vice versa. Malpighi, for example, was one of the creators of the science of comparative anatomy. His microscopic studies of the anatomy of the silkworm (1619) became one of the most famous scientific monographs of the age. But the greatest scientist of all, in these allied fields was Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), a Swede trained at the University of Upsala. His principal work was the invention and application to the world of animals and plants of a binomial nomenclature. According to his plan each animal and plant is designated by two words, the first of which denotes its genus and the second its

species. Linnaeus issued the first edition of his *Systema naturae* in 1735, a volume of twelve pages. His tenth edition, 1758, extended to 824 pages. "God created and Linnaeus arranged."

Chemistry

Chemistry had long been hampered by its association with the magic of alchemy. In the new age of science it broke completely with alchemy and was pursued for its own sake by numerous scientific workers in several countries. Its achievements, however, were comparatively small; more of the fundamentals were lacking in this science, at the end of the period, than in any other of equal importance. The greatest obstacle to advance in chemistry was the Aristotelian dogma that all matter is made up, in varying proportion, of one or more of the four elements, fire, water, earth, and air. It was commonly believed, therefore, that one substance could be changed into another by merely varying the proportions of the elements of which each was compounded. All that was needed was to discover the proper reagent, and baser metals could thus be transmuted into gold! The Englishman Robert Boyle (1627-1691) attacked this concept of matter with vigor in his book, *The Sceptical Chymist*. An element, he maintained, is a pure substance which cannot be broken up into anything simpler. None of Aristotle's famous four elements, Boyle demonstrated, could meet that test. This was a step in the right direction.

Another thesis of Boyle's began a controversy which lasted a century. Boyle maintained that some substances gain weight through combustion. A German scholar named Stahl (1660-1734) held, however, that every substance that can burn does so because it contains a "material and principle of fire," which he called "phlogiston." During combustion this is consumed; hence burning brings a loss of weight. Unfortunately, balances of sufficient delicacy, as well as other instruments of sufficient precision, were not yet available to settle the question. In the battle that followed the phlogiston theory proved to be the more popular, and for a hundred years it held the field, pretty effectually blocking progress in chemical knowledge. The dispute was ended, at long last, by the Frenchman Lavoisier (1743-1794), who proved that substances which are burned do increase in weight and that this is due to the addition of oxygen. He further proved that no matter is ever dissipated in a chemical process, thus substantiating the idea of the conservation of matter. Having come to the support of Boyle in the matter of combustion, Lavoisier also reaffirmed the Englishman's concept of an element. In his *Elementary Treatise on Chemistry* (1789) the brilliant Frenchman listed thirty-three elements.

Mathematics

Great as was the progress made in the medical sciences and in the other sciences closely associated with them, there were still greater achievements in the field of mathematics. Never before or since has mathematics been of such service to the other sciences or have its findings been of such moment to mankind. Arithmetic reached its modern form with the invention of logarithms (1614) and the use of the decimal notation for fractions (1617). The use of logarithms was popularized by the Englishman Napier, though as usual with most scientific discoveries, he was merely making expert use of the "converging efforts" of several of his contemporaries. The use of logarithms was of immense value to the mathematical astronomers accustomed to dealing with figures of great magnitude. The slide rule, by the use of which the results of logarithmic calculations are immediately available to anyone who can read, was invented in 1624.

At the same time algebra was reaching its final form, with a language and a system of its own. Descartes (1596-1650) suggested that the first letters of the alphabet be used to designate known quantities, the last letters being reserved for "unknowns." Many familiar signs were now introduced and the use of brackets became customary. Descartes also developed a system of coordinates which bears his name and which forms the basis of the graphs and curves so familiar to us. Calculus was invented independently by both Leibnitz (1646-1716) and Newton (1642-1727). Calculus, as its name suggests, is a method of calculation and it is of the highest utility. Unlike logarithms, however, calculus can be employed only by those who understand it. The two great men of genius who invented calculus used differing systems of notation. That of Leibnitz commended itself to the majority of mathematicians and is in use today; indeed, Leibnitz has been called "the master builder of mathematical notation." English mathematicians continued to employ the system of Newton for a century or so and, as a consequence, made no contributions to the advance of mathematics during the period of their schism.

Scientific Instruments

Improvements in methods of mathematical calculation were matched by the invention of certain instruments of precision without which great scientific advance would scarcely have been possible. Torricelli, a disciple of Galileo, discovered in 1645 that the height of mercury in a tube is a measure of atmospheric pressure. This is the principle of the modern barometer, the use of which as an indicator of changes in the weather was

well established by 1700. The thermometer is older still, but the use of mercury in a glass tube, instead of water, wine, or alcohol, was first made by Fahrenheit in 1721. His accurate thermometers gave a reading of 32 degrees as the freezing point of water and 212 degrees as the boiling point. The centigrade scale was devised by the Swedish scientist Celsius in 1742. An efficient air pump was made by Otto von Guericke. Having created a partial vacuum in two hollow hemispheres, he startled the gentlemen of the German Diet at Ratisbon, in 1654, by showing them that horses could not pull the hemispheres apart. The air pump made it possible to study the various properties of air, and it was quickly found that without air animals die and a flame cannot burn.

The telescope was invented by some spectaclemakers of Holland early in the seventeenth century, Hans Lippershey being perhaps most worthy of the credit. Galileo and others quickly put it to use, revealing a new heaven. A new earth was discoverable through the invention of the microscope, likewise the work of Dutch opticians, of whom Zacharias Jansen was the most important. The first great scientist to make full use of the microscope in his researches was Malpighi, the anatomist. It was he who confirmed Harvey's thesis by discovering capillaries in the lungs of a frog. Worthy of mention also is Antony van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723). This Dutch scientist made his own microscopes, a different one for each new subject of investigation. He found protozoa in stagnant water, and bacteria in dental tartar scraped from his teeth. It was more than a century later, however, before bacteria were studied again.

Astronomy; A New Concept of the Universe

Mathematical methods were applied with such skill and success in the field of astronomy and physics that by the close of the seventeenth century the foundations of the medieval concept of the universe were destroyed and a way was cleared for the intellectual revolution of the eighteenth century. The first great name is that of Johannes Kepler (1571-1630). An assistant of Tycho Brahe (see p. 78), Kepler fell heir to a splendid collection of observational data, to the study of which he bent his mathematical mind through a period of more than twenty years. Concentrating upon the orbit of Mars, Kepler was forced to the conclusion that the planet does not describe a circle in its orbit around the sun, but an ellipse with the sun at its focus. This was a step beyond Copernicus, who had insisted that planetary orbits were perfect circles. Kepler went on to formulate other laws of planetary motion so important as to earn for him the name of "founder of physical astronomy." He had no faith that his discoveries would meet with wide or swift acceptance, saying,

"The book is written, to be read either now or by posterity, I care not which; it may well wait a century for a reader, as God has waited six thousand years for an observer." A fact eloquently significant of the general state of enlightenment is that Kepler was obliged to turn aside from his researches from time to time to cast horoscopes for his patrons and friends. This practice of astrology he accepted as degrading but necessary. "Nature has endowed every living creature with the means of subsistence," he observed, adding, "Mother Astronomy would surely have to suffer hunger if daughter Astrology did not earn their bread."

The mathematics of Kepler was brilliantly supported by the observations of Galileo (1564-1642). Acting upon the suggestion of a Dutch optician, Galileo made a telescope which, with his later improvements, magnified an object one thousand times. Through this instrument he observed the four satellites of Jupiter, which give an example, in their circulation around the mother planet, of the motion of the planets around the sun. From a study of the spots on the sun Galileo was able to prove that the sun itself revolves on its axis. In the light of these and other analogies of the earth's rotation Galileo asked, "Who would believe that Nature hath chosen to make an innumerable number of most vast bodies move, and that with inconceivable velocity, to perform that which might be done by the moderate motion of one alone about its own centre?" Galileo was also able to demonstrate that the milky way was "a mass of innumerable stars planted together in clusters," and not made up of meteors, as Aristotle affirmed.

That the learned world was slow to accept Galileo's findings we may see from a letter he wrote to his friend Kepler. "Here at Padua," he wrote, "is the principal professor of philosophy whom I have repeatedly and urgently requested to look at the moon and planets through my glass, which he pertinaciously refuses to do. Why are you not here? What shouts of laughter we should have at this glorious folly!" Nor was the world of authority disposed to pass over in silence so formidable an attack upon the accepted view of the universe. The Roman Inquisition called upon Galileo to recant and to abjure the Copernican thesis as a heresy. His writings, with those of Copernicus and Kepler, were placed on the *Index*, there to remain for two hundred years.

Newton's *Principles*

To the question of how the heavenly bodies move, the human mind quickly adds another question: why do they move and what keeps them in motion? After his condemnation Galileo carried forward experiments in the law of moving bodies, deducing laws of motion which are still

famous. Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), born the year Galileo died, applied the latter's laws of falling bodies to the motion of the moon in its orbit. Galileo had shown that a freely falling body will move toward the earth with a speed which varies as the square of its distance from the earth. Newton calculated that if such a body were dropped toward the earth at the height of the moon it would fall about sixteen feet in the first second. He further showed that the moon in its course around the earth is deflected (that is, falls) from a line tangent to its orbit, in one second, exactly the same distance! The law of this force of attraction, called gravity, Newton formulated as follows: two bodies attract each other directly in proportion to their mass and inversely in proportion to the square of their distance from each other. Manifestly, the force of gravity operates in terrestrial and celestial realms without distinction; the earth is not unique. A new philosophy was thus made possible, that of a universe ruled throughout by natural law. Thus did the scientific achievements of the seventeenth century make possible the intellectual revolution of the eighteenth.

Newton was entirely confident that the many truths of science were all readily obtainable through methods which he himself had used with such brilliant results. The social scientists of the eighteenth century, taking their cue from Newton, were likewise confident that the laws governing human affairs were readily discoverable by rational means. Neither the physical nor the social scientists of our day share this confidence.

The law of gravitation, together with many other important calculations and discoveries, was published by Newton in 1687 in a volume called *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*. This work must rank as one of the greatest books ever written. For a century and more a host of brilliant scientists devoted themselves to building upon the foundations which Newton laid, or developing casual suggestions which he let fall. For more than two centuries, so accurate was his work, no discrepancies however slight were discerned in Newton's calculations.

Advance in Electrical Knowledge

Of the fascinating story of the discovery of electricity only the barest outline can be given here. William Gilbert (1540-1603), an English physician, first experimented with electricity by rubbing a soft cloth on a piece of amber, the Greek word for which is *elektron*. He made his experiments known to the world in a book called *De magnete*. The next step in unlocking the secrets of this mysterious force was taken by Stephen Gray in 1729, when he discovered that certain bodies are conductors of the

“electrical virtue” while others are nonconductors. A few years later it was discovered that electricity could be produced in a variety of ways and that it was possible to store it. Observing a spark produced by a Leyden jar, Benjamin Franklin guessed that electricity and lightning were the same thing, and proved it. So far the strange force had been but a marvelous toy because it could be produced only in the form of a spark, or at most, a flash. Alessandro Volta, an Italian physician, was the first to make it possible to put electricity to work when he invented, in 1799, the prototype of the modern cell or battery from which a steady flow of electricity is obtained. It had taken two hundred years to put electricity in harness; to this day the exact nature of this most useful of our servants remains in doubt.

The universities of the seventeenth century, and especially those of northern Europe, did not offer their hospitality to the new science; their curricula still centered about theology and the humanities. Scientific scholars and other influential persons interested in the advancement of knowledge, however, associated themselves in learned academies. Through the papers read before these bodies the results of research were made available. Through the research grants, medals, and other awards of the academies continued research was made possible. The Academy of Experiments of Florence was founded in 1657, the Royal Society of England in 1662, the French Academy of Science in 1666, and the Berlin Academy in 1700.

CHAPTER XII

Louis XIV and French Predominance

IN 1661 LOUIS XIV, being then twenty-two years of age, undertook the personal direction of the affairs of the French state, a responsibility which he relinquished only upon his death more than half a century later. He was not tall, but well proportioned and of abounding vitality. Moreover, he was kingly, "the greatest actor of majesty who ever wore a crown." Voltaire wrote of him, "The king surpassed all in his superior dignity and majestic beauty of countenance. His manner of walking was suitable to his own rank and person, and in any other would be ridiculous. The splendor of his public conduct diffused itself over his least actions, and even in his ordinary conversation his speech was studied and dignified." Probably no man has ever looked the part of king more completely, even on a stage.

Louis began by convincing himself. He had no sense of humor and accepted simply and as his due the most unctuous flattery. The new sovereign was very industrious. All final decisions were made by the king, and the sessions of his councils made large demands upon his time and upon his strength. Outside of council time Louis labored endlessly upon his papers. As the head of a brilliant and extravagant court he also had social duties which were a heavy drain upon his energies. In his earlier years Louis gave a substantial portion of his time to a succession of love affairs as well. A busy monarch, certainly; but not a very wise or able one. Probably Louis's excessive busyness was a substitute for thought; a recent authority is of the opinion that "he concealed beneath sumptuous and blatant externals a sub-intellect."

Absolutist Institutions of Government

It was under Louis XIV that French absolutism attained its zenith, and it will be well, therefore, to examine it in some detail. At the center of the state were a number of councils through which the king governed. The Council of Finance dealt with matters of internal policy; the Council of State, with foreign policy. The Council of Dispatches read and discussed the lengthy and frequent reports from the intendants. The Privy

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Council was a sort of coordinating body set over all other councils and bureaus. In truth, however, there was no clear line of demarcation in the work of the various councils. Under a king like Louis XIV who assiduously attended all of them this mattered little, since in the king's presence each council had plenary authority over every matter. The ministers of state were nearly as assiduous as the king in their attendance at the various councils. The chancellor was the most eminent of the ministers, and the controller general of finances was the most important, since little or nothing could be done without money. There were, besides, various secretaries of state whose functions were not clearly defined. Each of the ministers of state, even the greatest, retained much of the position of a private servant of the king. Louis XIV was continually encumbering Colbert, greatest of his ministers, with commissions and errands which had better have been entrusted to a lackey. As "servant" of the king each minister was listed by name in the accounts of the royal household and had a daily food allowance of two loaves, a quart of wine, a piece of game, and a pound of bacon, or on fast days, six carp and three pounds of butter in place of meat.

In France the whole medieval structure of provincial, municipal, and communal government remained seemingly intact. The provinces of France—Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, Provence, and the rest, some forty in all—were famous for their diversity of speech, dress, customs, and laws, and not a little of provincial patriotism still survived. At their head were governors appointed by the king and uniformly drawn from among the greatest of French families. Some of the outlying provinces still maintained local assemblies, representative of the three orders of society. In many of the cities of France mayors were still chosen, provosts of the merchants, as in the medieval period. Actually, however, the medieval structure of local government was a hollow shell; all real authority had been withdrawn. At the head of French local government in the age of Louis XIV were thirty-four intendants, one over each of thirty-four administrative districts. Appointed by the king and dismissed by him at will, the intendants were from the middle class and owed everything to the king's favor. Each was a man of all work, governing, taxing, and commanding as required by king and councils. Richelieu had made of the intendency a perfect tool of absolutism, the cardinal seeking as usual to undermine the authority of the great families. After the death of Louis XIV the intendants in their turn developed into a class of hereditary nobles, and "the Thirty Tyrants," as they were commonly called, became a liability to the French monarchy.

In the realm of law and justice there was a survival of the old with an admixture of new. The result was a conflict of laws and a competition of

courts with which no authority less absolute than the king's could have dealt. In this realm, at least, it might be said that if absolutism had not existed it would have had to be invented. In the first place, the hierarchy of ecclesiastical courts claimed a jurisdiction as wide and as varied as ever. In practice, of course, such authority as these courts still had was exercised by grace of the king. The French church was scarcely less under the control of Louis XIV than was the state. Since the Concordat of 1516 the bishops, archbishops, abbots, and priors of France had been named by the crown. Moreover, in a "Declaration of Liberties of the Gallican Church," drawn up by Louis XIV's command in 1682, the authority of the pope even in spiritual matters was declared to be dependent upon its acceptance by the French church, which meant that it depended on the king. In the hands of the landed nobles there remained only vestiges of the private jurisdiction which had been theirs in the middle ages. However vexatious to the peasants, the petty authority of the landed magnates was no longer a matter of concern to the courts of the king. Among the various royal courts, however, there was a very real confusion due to a conflict of claims and the overlapping of jurisdiction. In the setting up of these courts through the centuries no consistent plan, no logical scheme, had been adhered to. There were no less than eighteen courts of extraordinary jurisdiction, besides five of ordinary jurisdiction. And above these high courts was not one, but thirteen supreme courts for all France. The supreme courts were called *parlements*, and each took a special name from the city where it sat. The Parlement of Paris was the most famous. The judges of the higher parlement courts held their posts by hereditary title, usually purchased, and were ranked among the nobility. As judges with a hereditary claim to their posts, they were not always or greatly interested in making justice quicker and cheaper. Indeed, the law's delays in France during this period are responsible for the following saying: "The duty of judges is to dispense justice, their profession to postpone it. Some of them know their duty but practice their profession."

Since the crown had the power to legislate by edict at any time, the various *parlements* of France had adopted the salutary practice of registering the royal edicts. Having, like all good courts of law, a very high opinion of their own importance, the French *parlements* ventured from time to time to refuse to register a royal edict which they deemed to be inconsistent with previous legislation or objectionable in itself. It should not be assumed, however, that in their resistance to the crown the *parlements* considered themselves or were considered the champions of the nation. Only the Estates-General could have played a part in France analogous to that of the Parliament of England. In any event, the king of

France could always break down the resistance of one of his parlements by summoning it to a formal session in the royal presence. In such a session, called a *lit de justice*, a parlement might not refuse to do as the king commanded.

In the various provinces of France the greatest variety of legal custom prevailed, another heritage from the middle ages. Voltaire complained, later on, that in a journey across France a traveler had to change his law as often as he changed his horse. It should not have been beyond the capacity of a group of French jurists to bring this variety of custom and law into a single and consistent whole. Not one of the absolute sovereigns of France, however, had the will or the good sense to set such a group to work. Each successive king was content to brush aside obstacles and resolve conflicts with the irresistible strength of his personal authority.

French Finances

In no department of government was the lack of system and order more apparent than in that of finance. France was a comparatively wealthy country, with natural resources sufficiently extensive and varied to support a large population. The king of France, however, was like a gentleman with a vast and varied estate who simply spends as much as he pleases and raises as much money as he needs. Down to the very eve of the French Revolution no attempt was made to estimate the expenses of government for a year in advance. As old taxes ceased to bring in adequate amounts, new taxes were imposed, the old ones being allowed to remain in force. A long list of persons, indeed whole sections of society, won exemption from one tax or another by bringing the requisite amount of pressure to bear upon this king or that. The greatest inequality prevailed also in the burden of taxation borne by the various sections of France. Any relation there might be between the taxative system and the economic well-being of the French people was almost wholly accidental.

No complete or systematic account of the finances of Louis XIV's government can be given, but a few illustrations will be enlightening. The most important tax, and one of the oldest, was the direct land tax, the *taille*. Since this was first imposed in lieu of military service, "noble" land, as we have seen, was still exempt. Clerical land also escaped the *taille*, since the clergy as a class were free from all regular taxation. It was the peasant, therefore, who paid. Next to the *taille* as a revenue-producing tax was the *gabelle*, or salt tax. Every householder of France was required to buy from the government seven pounds of salt per annum for each member of the household. This was not in itself an excessive quantity;

it was the price that was excessive, amounting in some provinces to fifty or sixty times the actual value of the salt. In other provinces the government sold salt at cost, for no other reason apparently than that it had always been sold that way. Enforcement of the government salt monopoly was strict and penalties for evasion were severe. On an average, several thousand offenders a year were sentenced to transportation or the galleys. France also levied the special taxes on imports and exports common to the period, the purpose of which was partly to control trade and partly to produce revenue. In addition, there had been developed throughout the country a network of customs barriers at which commodities of all sorts were taxed, both farm products and articles of manufacture. These *octrois*, as they were called, were a severe restriction upon the internal trade of France and thus affected her economic well-being. The number of customs frontiers may be judged from the fact that a tun of wine grown in Roussillon, on the Spanish frontier, was taxed on its way to Paris no less than twenty-two times. Among new taxes were two developed under Louis XIV, who found war an expensive pastime. One was a poll tax (*capitation*), and the other an income tax (*vingtième*). All the clergy and most of the nobility escaped the former, leaving townsfolk and peasants, as usual, to pay because they could not escape. Since most of the peasants had no taxable income, however, they found themselves at one with the clergy and nobility in escaping the *vingtième*.

Colbert, Man of All Work

Greatest of the ministers of Louis XIV was Jean Baptiste Colbert. The son of a merchant of Rheims, Colbert had attracted the notice of Mazarin, who recommended him to Louis XIV in these words: "Sire, I owe everything to you, but I pay my debt by giving you Colbert." Louis found Colbert all that Mazarin had predicted and loaded him with offices and responsibilities. At one time Colbert directed activities of state which in recent times have been the work of nine departments of the French government, including those of finance, commerce, agriculture, public works, the navy, colonies, and to some extent, foreign affairs. Having built up a great fortune for Mazarin, Colbert proceeded in much the same way to enlarge that of his new master.

Colbertism

The means used by Colbert to enrich the king constitute an economic policy known as "Colbertism." Recognizing that France was endowed with splendid resources and a large and growing population, the minister

undertook the development of the wealth of his native land through "stimulation and regulation." Here was mercantilism at its best. Industries selected for stimulation were granted freedom from taxation, interest-free loans, the prestige of royal patronage, or outright subsidies. French industry as a whole was protected from foreign competition by a high protective tariff. Minute regulation was undertaken because Colbert believed that goods must be of uniformly high quality if they were to sell. The greatest of French industries was the production of textiles. Colbert issued many directives on the production of woolens and silks, such as a manual of dyeing which set forth the best practices of the day. He took over the Gobelin tapestry factory founded by Henry IV, and secured for it the world fame it has since retained. Agriculture was assisted by regulation of the import and export of grain in order to keep prices steady, and by the establishment of experimental farms for the improvement of livestock. Communications were improved by the digging of canals. The most famous of these was the Languedoc Canal, linking the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, which attains by a system of locks an altitude of six hundred feet. Colbert fought hard to establish a uniform system of weights and measures and to simplify the maze of internal tariff barriers, but in these projects he had little success. Provincialism was too firmly entrenched; for national unity in these respects France had to wait for the explosive force of the Revolution of 1789.

In the realm of government finance Colbert's work was remedial; he fought corruption and waste. He secured the punishment of over four thousand tax grafters and the restitution to the royal treasury of more than 100,000,000 livres. Too prudent a courtier to attempt to shift the burden of taxation from the busy toilers to the idle rich, Colbert did place emphasis, in his taxative program, on levies which would bear more equally on all classes of the population. Here again France had to wait for a revolution for a system of reasonable uniformity.

Greatest of French resources, in Colbert's opinion, was labor. France still retained on its medieval calendar a tremendous number of holidays. This roused Colbert's ire, and he strove to reduce the number radically. On one occasion he succeeded in removing seventeen saints' days from the list of work-free holidays. Furthermore, Colbert felt that far too large a proportion of the population was unproductive. He sought to induce the monasteries to establish industrial enterprises, and he tried in every way to discourage French men and women from entering the religious orders. To stimulate a growth of population, he offered to exempt from all taxation families of ten or more children on condition that none become a priest or monk or nun. Colbert himself adopted a normal working day of sixteen hours.

Colonial Expansion

Colbert is to be credited with a recognition of the importance of shipping. "The sea-borne commerce of Europe," he said, "employs about 25,000 vessels. In the natural order of things each nation will possess a share of this tonnage proportionate to its power, population, and the extent of its coasts; but the Dutch have 15,000 to 20,000 ships and the French have not more than five or six hundred." Colbert set on foot measures which made up this deficiency and transformed France, for the time being, into the leading sea power of Europe.

He then turned his attention to the colonies. He found in the West Indies a dozen or more islands which had fallen into the hands of private persons. The progress and prosperity of the islands had come to a standstill. This, it appeared, was due to the fact that the French government had failed to put down piracy and check smuggling. Colbert bought out the private holders, organized a French West India Company, which was little more than an organ of the state, and soon had the islands on a paying basis. Indeed, after adequate defensive measures had been taken, the French West Indies became, in proportion to their size, the most valuable colonial possession in the world. Sugar refining quickly developed into one of the most important of French industries.

In Canada Colbert found a small band of settlers whose progress to the west had been blocked and whose very existence was threatened by the Iroquois. These Indians then occupied the whole land south of the upper St. Lawrence and the two most easterly of the Great Lakes. Colbert took over the governing of the little colony, setting at its head a military governor with a financial and legal assistant known as an intendant. All male inhabitants between the ages of fourteen and seventy were made subject to military service. Centralized authority and military discipline contributed much to the survival strength of French Canada. In 1670 the colony had a white population of 6000; in 1700 it was 12,000.

During the last decades of the seventeenth century the great achievement of the French in Canada was the exploration of the vast interior of North America. This was the work of hardy fur traders and of the indomitable Jesuits. Especially noteworthy were two great river journeys. The Jesuit Père Marquette with the trader Jolliet made his way in 1673 through Lake Huron and Lake Superior to the Wisconsin River and thence to the Mississippi. Voyaging down its great length, the two explorers reached as their most southerly point the Arkansas River. A few years later (1681-1682) Sieur de La Salle, after making a portage from the southern tip of Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, pushed down the Illinois to the Mississippi and then proceeded to the Gulf of Mexico, set-

ting up at the mouth of the great river a pillar proclaiming the sovereignty of Louis XIV. Following up these epochal achievements in exploration, the French established forts at key points in the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys—Frontenac, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario; Niagara, between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; Detroit, guarding the passage between Lake Erie and Lake Huron. The southernmost outpost of the French in this period was Fort Chartres on the left bank of the Mississippi somewhat to the south of the junction of the Missouri River with the larger stream. Thus, in little more than a quarter of a century of actual occupation, the French had staked out a vast empire in the valleys of North America's two great streams, potentially one of the largest empires in the world. As yet, however, it was hardly more than a paper empire, and the French governing authorities, aside from Colbert, had no real interest in it. At first the king would not allow any but Catholics to migrate to North America, a policy in which he had the warm support of the Jesuits on the spot. Later the situation was worse, for as the strain of successive wars increased, Louis stopped the migration of Frenchmen to Canada entirely, on the ground that it weakened France's man power.

French Culture

A significant aspect of Colbertism was its cultural emphasis. French art, literature, and science were "stimulated and regulated" by this remarkable minister in a way which reminds one of the cultural activities of a modern totalitarian state, though the ideology, perhaps, was not the same. Colbert was the founder of the Academy of Science, the Academy of Music, the Academy of Architecture, and the National Theater, and the restorer of several other such institutions. It was in the age of Louis XIV that French culture, in several of its aspects, attained its greatest fame, and for this the patronage of the monarchy, as directed by Colbert, was measurably responsible.

The branch of French culture that became and remains most widely known was literature. A series of great writers brought to perfection the qualities of flexibility, precision, and subtlety which made of the French language an almost perfect medium of expression. If there has been little change since, it is because there was little room left for improvement. This was the age of the three great dramatists, Corneille, Racine, and Molière; of the learned historian and eloquent court preacher, Bossuet; of the satirical writer of fables, La Fontaine; of the indefatigable writer of letters, Mme de Sévigné; and of the courtly writer of memoirs, Saint-Simon. In the drama, which was undoubtedly the field of greatest literary achievement, human passions were neatly labeled, conflicts were squarely

joined and precisely resolved, the unities of time and place were nicely observed, thought and action were expressed in language of the utmost simplicity. In general, the literature of the age is characterized by the classical attributes of order, harmony, and dignity, qualities derived from the Greek and Roman classics then so much admired, but also reflecting the spirit and temper of French absolutism as portrayed by the Grand Monarch. Louis was a discriminating patron, with an eye to the control of public opinion as well as to the enhancement of his own prestige, and most of the writers were welcome visitors at court, some of them receiving liberal pensions from the king.

So great was the prestige of French literature, and of France, and so compelling were the merits of the language in which the literature was written that French began to displace Latin as the universal language of the educated class. In diplomacy, in society, and even in science, French became a second language for all those for whom it was not already the first. Frederick the Great of Prussia spoke French in preference to his native German. The Dutch scientists Huygens and Leeuwenhoek, with commendable anxiety to secure a fuller publicity for their findings, published some of their treatises in French. Sensible of their responsibility, the forty "immortals" of the French Academy undertook to publish a grammar, a rhetoric, and a dictionary of the French tongue. After half a century of toil the dictionary appeared; only after two centuries more (1931), the grammar.

Versailles

The greatest artistic enterprise of the reign of Louis XIV was the building, decorating, and furnishing of the palace of Versailles. Louis XIV was not satisfied with any of the accustomed residences of French royalty, whether at Fontainebleau, Chambord, St. Germain, or Paris. Each had associations with some past chapter of monarchical history which marred the glittering effulgence of the glorious present. Louis planned to build a palace on a site entirely new, without traditions, even without merit. Here he would construct a vast temple for the worship of royalty. Versailles had nothing to commend it, no view, no water, no trees, no population. So much the better. Everything that Versailles became it would owe to Louis XIV; he would make a "little universe" in which every satellite would reflect his attributes and every living thing would sing his praise. The palace itself, of which Leveau and Mansart were the architects, is of vast proportions. When completed it housed about 10,000 persons. In the central portion dwelt the king. To furnish so vast a building, the artistic resources and talent of the entire nation were employed. Furniture and tapestry factories were laid under requisition. Rare woods

were sought out. An army of designers, woodcarvers, and cabinetmakers was engaged. The artistic director of Versailles, and indeed of France, was Charles Le Brun (d. 1690). The art treasures of the other palaces of France, the accumulation of centuries, were scattered through the apartments of Versailles as mere furnishings. The crowning glory of the central section of the palace is the Hall of Mirrors, a magnificent gallery two hundred and fifty feet long. Its seventeen immense windows look out upon the gardens; opposite them are the splendid mirrors of Venetian glass which give the hall its name. Its ceiling was decorated by Le Brun and his assistants with scenes partly historical and partly allegorical. The central scene is labeled, appropriately, "The king reigns alone." Flanking the Hall of Mirrors are, on one side, the "Grand Apartments of the King," and on the other the "Grand Apartments of the Queen."

Framing the whole horizon as one looks out of the windows of the Hall of Mirrors are the magnificent Gardens of Versailles, now more generally admired than the palace itself. Their architect was Le Nôtre, who employed a geometrical design harmonizing with the palace, with central axes to which all details are subordinated. The basins and fountains are especially fine. Thirty thousand men, of whom several thousand died of malaria, labored in vain to divert a small river from its course to supply them. Finally pumps were installed to bring up water from the Seine. Immense quantities of sculpture in marble and bronze decorate the gardens. Hedges and even trees were made to grow in ways nature never intended, as Le Nôtre sought to frame the palace with a sort of "vegetable architecture."

Colbert's attitude toward Versailles, which was opened the year before his death, was divided. The stimulus to French industries and the employment of labor through the years of construction and furnishing he welcomed, but the vast expense, between thirty and fifty million livres, might well leave him aghast. Nor could the upkeep of the large and brilliant court at Versailles be classed as productive expenditure.

Persecution of the Huguenots

Shortly after Colbert's death his economic structure was measurably weakened by an emigration of Huguenots. There were about two million of them in France at this time. Their republican form of church government was a tacit challenge to the absolutist form of the state, their property excited the envy of their neighbors, and their religion was an offense to the French clergy, particularly the Jesuits. It was finally decided to "convert" the Huguenots. Bribery was attempted, then intimidation, finally force, as soldiers were billeted in Huguenot households. These

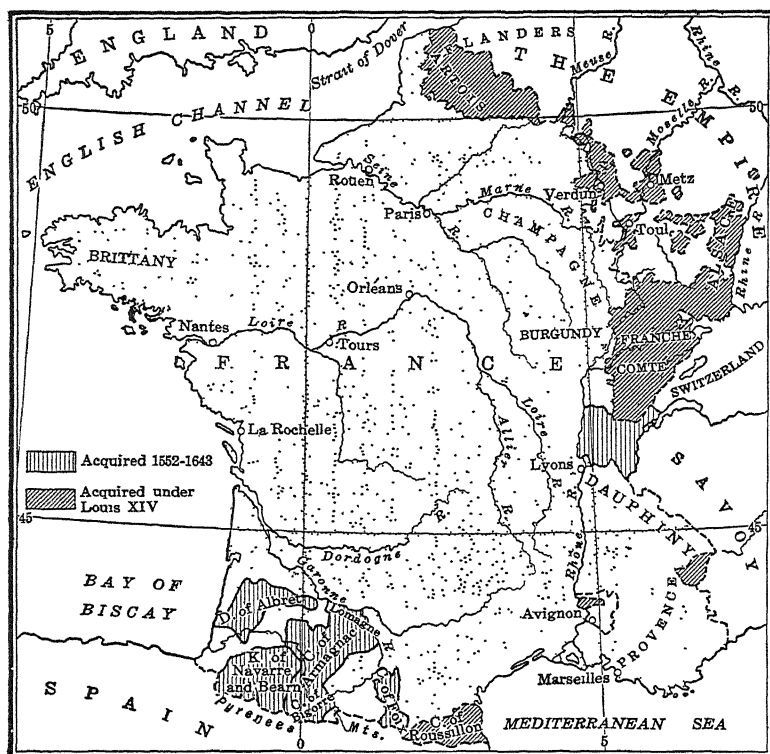
measures met with much success, and tens of thousands gave up the struggle. About two hundred thousand preferred their religion to their homeland and emigrated, settling in England, Holland, Brandenburg, and North Africa, some of the major industries of those lands being established by the immigrants. At length, in 1685, it was announced that since nearly all Huguenots had now become Catholics there was no longer any need for the Edict of Nantes, and it was accordingly revoked. This example of religious intolerance, in decided contrast to contemporary developments in science, was hailed by Bossuet as "the miracle of our time."

Louis's Wars

The reign of Louis XIV was made brilliant, in the eyes of his contemporaries at least, by the series of wars which distinguish this period as an age of French military glory. Colbert himself was not opposed to war as such. Sharing the mercantilist view that the wealth of the world is limited, he had advocated a war on the Dutch, for example. On the whole, however, Louis's wars represent the influence of Colbert's great rival and ultimate successor in the royal confidence, François Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois.

Louvois was as efficient an organizer of war as Colbert had been of the national economy. Great stores of supplies and equipment were gathered and placed at strategic points. Vauban, the greatest military engineer of the age, was given a free rein. Louvois, who was constantly urging Louis XIV to engage in new wars, wanted to see what his machine could do. The French achieved military predominance, but for a time, at least, their success owed something to lack of real competition. Spain was definitely in decline; Sweden had shot its bolt; England and Holland were locked in a struggle for trade; Prussia and Russia were not yet factors of importance in European affairs.

The first three of the French king's wars were concerned with the eastern frontier of France, and their principal consequence was, perhaps, the creation of the problem of this frontier in its modern form. In 1667 Louis invaded the Spanish Netherlands. Certainly these provinces were culturally more French than Spanish, and doubtless France could usefully reconstruct this sector of her frontier on lines which would be strategically more favorable to her. Louis's personal justification for the war was that on the death of Philip IV of Spain (1665) the Netherlands descended by "Brabant Law" to the eldest daughter of the Spanish monarch, Louis's own wife; actually the war of the Spanish Netherlands (1667-1668) was one of aggrandizement. In a military sense the war went well; city after city fell as the French troops advanced. Diplo-



GROWTH OF FRANCE, 1552-1715

matically, the results were not so happy. French aggression in the Netherlands alarmed the Dutch, who regarded France as "a good friend but a bad neighbor." De Witt, foremost civil magistrate of the Dutch Republic, succeeded in forming an alliance with England and Sweden for the restraint of France. It was something of an innovation, surely, for three Protestant states to form a league for the protection of the property of Catholic Spain. Seeing that he must pause to deal with the Dutch, and feeling sure that he could purchase the neutrality of England and Sweden, Louis made peace with Spain, receiving a dozen border fortresses to strengthen French security (Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668).

Before launching his attack on the Dutch, whom he hated as republicans, as heretics, and as bourgeois, Louis XIV sought to isolate them diplomatically. Treaty after treaty was negotiated with Sweden, England, the emperor, and various princes of the Empire. Of these the Treaty of Dover (1670) with Charles II of England was the most important, since it secured England's active participation on the French side. England's

rivalry with Holland was an established matter, and the published sections of the Treaty of Dover were well received in England, where even Shaftesbury, leader of the opposition, denounced the Dutch as "England's eternal enemy." But Louis had also stipulated that the English king, secretly a Catholic, should in due time acknowledge his religion publicly and secure freedom of worship, at the very least, for English Catholics. French gold was promised, French troops offered, should the English sovereign need them. These provisions of the treaty, aimed at the English constitution of state and church alike, were known at first to only one person in the English privy council besides the king.

Early in 1672 France and England declared war on Holland. Again the French armies were set in motion, one on either bank of the Rhine. Entering Holland, they quickly overran several of the United Provinces and threatened Amsterdam. In desperation the Dutch opened the sluice gates and flooded the countryside. The French advance was checked.

Meanwhile De Witt had fallen from power and had been murdered by the mob as one who had failed to defend his country. The Dutch once more pressed into service the house of Orange, at whose head was a lad of twenty-one. This particular William of Orange proved to be one of the staunchest of the champions of Dutch liberty. To Louis's demand for large cessions of land and the establishment of Catholicism throughout Holland, William made answer that rather than submit he would send non-combatants to the East Indies, cut the dikes, and then die with his men in the last ditch. With the French still in check, Prince William began to make war on the diplomatic front. His skill was considerable and his success gratifying. The emperor, half a dozen German princes, and Spain were soon on the Dutch side. Best of all, the English had begun to smell a rat and Parliament compelled the king to withdraw from the war. In an effort to get England on his side, William married the English princess Mary (1677).

Learning that English neutrality would be turned into open hostility, Louis decided to end the war. By the Peace of Nimwegen (1678) he strengthened his chain of border fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands and secured from Spain the cession of the "Free County" of Burgundy on the Swiss border, a part of the old Burgundian inheritance of the Hapsburgs. France had won the war. Her king was for the moment "dictator of Europe." But more significant was the accomplishment of William of Orange, who had shown how Europe might combine to beat France in the end.

From the Netherlands Louis turned to the Rhine. The elector of the Palatinate having died (1685), the French king claimed the inheritance for the elector's sister, who was the wife of Louis's brother, the duke of

Orléans. Louis's claim had no standing in law and was rejected by the Germans. For the moment the French king let the matter rest. His meddling and interfering nature was again in evidence, however, when in hope of gaining another foothold on the Rhine, he put forward a French candidate for the archbishopric of Cologne. Nothing came of this. Louis then set his lawyers to work to see what might be gleaned from loosely worded phrases in recent treaties between France and the Empire, which had awarded to the former certain territories "and their dependencies." The French experts discovered, among other things, that the whole of Alsace together with the great city of Strasbourg fell in the category of dependencies, and therefore should be "reunited" to France. Louis decided to act. Alsace was occupied without resistance; Strasbourg succumbed after a struggle in which a French "fifth column" played an active part.

These acts of aggression created widespread anxiety. William of Orange now decided to devote his life to opposing Louis XIV as the best means of securing the liberties not only of the Dutch but of Europe. Slowly he built up an alliance which included the emperor and the leading princes of Germany, Sweden, and Spain. It was plain that the weight of England would prove decisive. Happily for William, the English repudiated their pro-French Catholic monarch (James II) in 1688 and turned to William's own wife, Mary, as the nearest Protestant heir. As Louis XIV equipped a fleet and army to restore James to the English throne, William became co-sovereign of England with his wife. This was on William's own terms: England to join the alliance, and William himself to be administrative head of the English government. William landed in England in November, 1688.

Two months earlier French armies had invaded the Palatinate. A hundred thousand peasants were now driven from their homes in a campaign whose frightfulness has scarcely been equaled. Later, on the advice of Louvois, German lands were laid waste a second time. A flood of hatred against the French, the "Huns," as they were called, flowed from the printing presses of Germany. The result, and it has proved to be the most enduring result of the war, was the creation of a bitter feud between the French and German peoples, a feud far more intense than the older antagonism between French and Spanish which it replaced.

In the Netherlands the war consisted of a series of protracted sieges of fortified strongholds, with few dramatic incidents. The French strategists laid careful plans for establishing a base in Ireland and then reducing England by direct assault. The Irish expedition failed, however, King William meeting and defeating the enemy on Irish soil in the battle of the Boyne (1690). Recovering from this setback, the French gathered a

large army with naval convoy in the ports of Normandy within easy reach of England. This project also collapsed when Admiral Russell, commanding Dutch and English ships, destroyed the French fleet in a battle off Cape La Hogue not far from Cherbourg. On the sea the successes of the allies were counterbalanced by the destruction of English and Dutch shipping by French privateers led by the skilled and greatly daring Jean Bart. In North America the French governor of Canada, Count Frontenac, took advantage of the state of war to unleash his red-skin allies in a series of raids against English settlers on the frontiers of New York, Massachusetts (including Maine), and New Hampshire. In reprisal, an ambitious land and water expedition against Canada was set on foot in the English colonies, but the result was failure. To these activities in the New World we assign the name, in American history, of King William's War. The peace was to leave the situation in America very much as before.

Peace finally came to Europe because both sides were weary of the conflict. Louis wished to have his hands free to deal with the problem of the Spanish succession. Also, the facts that his resources were depleted, that 10 per cent of his people were out of work, and that the rest were groaning under a doubled weight of taxation may not have left him entirely unmoved. The principal provisions of the Peace of Ryswick (1697) were, first, that France should keep Alsace and Strasbourg, and second, that Louis should recognize the English Protestant succession and drop his support of James II.

The Problem of the Spanish Succession

The question of the Spanish succession invited the attention of the whole of Europe. Charles II, king of Spain since 1665, was evidently nearing his end. It was something of a miracle that Charles "the Sufferer," afflicted by a complication of maladies from an early age, had lived so long. Though twice married he had no children and the succession was in doubt. The prize at stake was very great. The empire acquired by Spain in the sixteenth century was substantially intact; it was the richest empire in the world. In Europe Spain had been obliged to acknowledge the independence of Portugal and Holland; but she still maintained her hold on the rest of the Netherlands and, through her possession of the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, controlled the Italian peninsula.

Both Leopold I, archduke of Austria and emperor, and Louis of France laid formal claim to the whole of the Spanish inheritance, and it was easy to see that a bitter struggle might ensue. Each was a first cousin

of the slowly dying monarch. Furthermore, each had a claim through his wife. Leopold had married Margaret Theresa, a sister of Charles II, and Louis XIV had married Maria Theresa, a half-sister. To make his claim more acceptable to the powers of Europe Louis XIV engaged to avoid uniting the crowns of France and Spain, putting forward his grandson Philip of Anjou as the future king of Spain. Leopold likewise passed his claim along, selecting his second son, the archduke Charles, who was born of a marriage contracted by Leopold after the death of Margaret Theresa, his first wife. The sole child of that first marriage was a daughter, Maria Antonia, who had married the elector of Bavaria. Needless to say, this German prince also came forward at the proper time as a claimant to the Spanish inheritance. The recital of these facts, unimportant in themselves, will help us to realize how different was that age from our own day, with its belief in self-determination through plebiscites.

Despite conflicting claims, a peaceful solution of the Spanish succession seemed possible. Partition treaties were drawn up which preserved intact the major portion of the Spanish inheritance while satisfying France and Austria and even England and the Dutch. Unfortunately these treaties did not satisfy the Spaniards, who contemptuously rejected all proposals to divide their empire. An English diplomat prophesied, "They would rather deliver themselves up to the French or the devil, so they may all go together, than be dismembered." He was right. When Charles II finally laid down the burden of his life, November 1, 1700, it was found that he had left the whole of the Spanish inheritance by will to Philip of Anjou, the French claimant, who was promptly recognized by the Spaniards as King Philip V. Charles II and his advisers had calculated, probably correctly, that the integrity of the Spanish inheritance stood the best chance of preservation in the strong hands of France.

The seemingly inevitable war might have been avoided had Louis XIV adopted a policy of conciliation. But, giddy with his dazzling success, the French king publicly announced that the rights of Philip V of Spain, and of his heirs, to the French throne were unimpaired, thus giving support to the exultant exclamation of the Spanish ambassador, "There are no more Pyrenees." Not long thereafter Louis expelled Dutch garrisons from the Spanish Netherlands in flagrant violation of the Peace of Ryswick. In further contravention of that treaty Louis, upon the death of James II, exiled king of England (September 6, 1701), recognized James's "warming-pan" son as rightful king with the title of James III. To these threats to the security of the United Provinces and of England Louis added attacks on their trade when he sought to exclude their merchants from the Spanish colonies. On the day following Louis's recognition of James III as king of England, that country, the Dutch, and the Empire announced

a "Grand Alliance," with the following objectives: (1) to prevent the union of France and Spain; (2) to obtain compensation for Austria for her loss of the Spanish inheritance; (3) to ensure the safety of the United Provinces; (4) to compel Louis to renounce James III. In May, 1702, the Grand Alliance declared war on France and Spain.

The War of the Spanish Succession

Nearly the whole of western Europe was involved in the struggle which followed, and the clash of arms resounded in the New World as well. The vast theater of the war, if not the importance of its issues, makes the War of the Spanish Succession the greatest conflict Europe had known since the fall of Rome. In Europe itself there were four fronts, the Netherlands, the Rhine, Italy, and the Spanish peninsula. England and the Dutch centered their military effort in the Netherlands. The Dutch supplied most of the troops; but England balanced the account with subsidies and, more valuable still, with a commander in chief of genius, the duke of Marlborough. On the sea England outdid her ally, and increasingly so as the war wore on; indeed, this war marks the definite achievement of British supremacy on the sea. Austria spent most of its strength in Italy; France, on the Rhine. The allies did not at first plan to exclude the French candidate but aimed at keeping the thrones of France and Spain separate. England wanted the aid of Portugal, however, in her effort to secure naval bases in the western Mediterranean. The Portuguese were more than willing to come in, but on the condition that the Austrian candidate be installed at Madrid.

Assuming the initiative, a French army of 50,000 set out for Bavaria, just across the Rhine. From this friendly base and with Bavarian help the French proposed to march straight to Vienna. In the meantime another French army crossed the Alps into Italy, where, having joined with Spanish forces in Milan, it was to attack Vienna from the south, thus putting Austria out of the war. Learning of the plan, Marlborough acted swiftly. Mobilizing his Dutch and English forces, he marched hundreds of miles up the Rhine and across the watershed into the valley of the Danube to catch the French in Bavaria. Knowing full well that the Dutch governor would never consent to such a withdrawal of troops from the home base, the daring duke first sent word of his departure when he was beyond recall.

Swift messengers carried the news of Marlborough's march to Vienna, and Austrian forces under Prince Eugene proceeded westward. Joining forces with his ally and seeking out his enemy, Marlborough attacked the French. The battle raged along the banks of a marshy stream which

flows into the Danube through the Bavarian village of Blenheim (Blindheim). With forces no greater than the French, the brilliant English commander so manipulated his troops as to kill, wound, or capture half the enemy, driving the rest from the field in utter rout. Europe rang with the fame of this amazing victory, for French troops had not been beaten for more than fifty years. The military supremacy of France ended at Blenheim (1704). Two years later Marlborough drove the French from the Netherlands at the battle of Ramillies. Two years after that he won again at Oudenarde and followed his triumph by taking Lille, a fortress on the soil of France itself and Vauban's masterpiece (1708). Malplaquet, in 1709, completes the list of the major victories of this greatest of English generals, who never lost a battle. Two hundred years later men still sang of his fame with the words, "Malbrouck s'en va t'en guerre," to the tune of "We won't go home till morning."

Meanwhile Prince Eugene, not far inferior in ability to Marlborough himself, had driven the French out of Italy. On the sea, also, the war had gone well for the allies. The English admiral Sir George Rooke defeated a French and Spanish fleet in Vigo Bay, on the northwest coast of Spain, and then burned to the water's edge a Spanish treasure fleet from the West Indies. In 1704, just a week before Blenheim, Sir George and his associate in command, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, both "tarpaulin admirals," took Gibraltar, thus giving England a base of power at the entrance to the Mediterranean. In the New World the English colonists joined the fray; with France and Spain both hostile, Florida and the Carolinas were threatened, as well as New York and New England. The principal achievement of the colonists in Queen Anne's War, as we call it, was again to take Port Royal in Acadia, a French naval base.

Louis XIV was badly shaken by these reverses. But the blow to his prestige was a small matter in comparison with the disastrous effects of the long war upon the French people. Taxes grew heavier and heavier. The peasants were bled white and many of Colbert's new industries were wiped out. Profiteering became rife again. Such was Louis's weakness that when the allies presented their peace demands in 1709, the French monarch assented to all the forty articles save one. That one was that French troops should join with the Portuguese, English, and Austrian forces to drive Philip V finally from Spain. Fighting was resumed, but Spanish national resistance stiffened month by month. In 1710, however, a complete political turnover in England brought in the unwarlike Tories, who entered upon secret negotiations with France, calculating correctly that if the two principals came to terms the others would have to fall into line. Marlborough, who had just executed a brilliant maneuver, outflanking the enemy without the loss of a man and opening the road

to Paris, was dismissed from his command and indicted for theft. British troops were ordered home. England's allies were bitter and they denounced "perfidious Albion" for her desertion in no uncertain terms.

The Peace of Utrecht

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) is the principal landmark in Europe's international relations between the Peace of Westphalia and the Congress of Vienna (1815). The French Philip V made good his claim to Spain, at long last, having twice been driven from Madrid in the course of the war and twice restored; but it was specifically provided in the treaty that the thrones of Spain and France should never be combined. All of Spain's European holdings were taken from her, and she was thus confined to her own homeland. Austria was awarded the Spanish Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the island of Sardinia. Spain's long and oppressive dominance of the Italians thus came to an end, and Austrian rule, even longer and scarcely less oppressive, was begun. The Dutch were well pleased to have Austria rule the southern provinces in the place of Spain, but even so demanded and received the right to garrison certain border fortresses. To secure themselves commercially from the competition of the southern provinces, the Dutch stipulated that the river Scheldt be closed to navigation, thus leaving Antwerp high and dry.

England's gains were few but significant: from Spain, Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; from France, Nova Scotia (Acadia) and a clear title to the long disputed Newfoundland and the territory around Hudson's Bay. These were well-chosen "centers of power and colonization" for the future. The right to supply the Spanish colonies with Negro slaves also passed to England for a period of thirty years, with other limited rights of trade. The loot from the French empire was not shared with the Dutch; indeed, the Dutch could no longer keep pace with England, and Holland drops from the list of first-class powers.

We may observe in the Peace of Utrecht a statesmanlike balance of forces. The attempt of France, prolonged through the reign of Louis XIV, to make France the master state, with the rest of Europe in dependence, had definitely failed, and the exhaustion of France coupled with the strength of her neighbors made it reasonably sure that the attempt would not soon be renewed. In the world of trade and colonies, also, a reasonable balance of power had been achieved as among Holland, England, France, and Spain. Small wonder that Abbé de St. Pierre (1658-1743) thought the moment favorable for making the European and imperial balance permanent. A well-known writer and reformer, he had served as

a secretary at the conference of Utrecht. His peace plan fixed the number of states at twenty-four, the Turks being ignored. The boundaries and forms of government of these states were to be unchangeable. To secure these and other objectives, the twenty-four states were to join in a league which would undertake to protect each member state from wars of conquest and defend each government against internal revolution. Colonial boundaries also should be unchangeable, the author thought, and colonial trading rights should be shared equally by all the states. This project was quoted with approval by the philosophers of the time, but there is no evidence that the political leaders paid it any attention. Without the assistance of an international organization the balance of power arrived at in the Peace of Utrecht lasted for fifty years.

Louis XIV had toddled to the steps of the throne at the age of four. Seventy-two years later, at his death, the unlimited power of the greatest monarchy of Europe fell to a lad of five. Calling the boy to his bedside, the dying king gave him some good advice: "My child, you will soon be sovereign of a great kingdom. . . . Endeavor to live at peace with your neighbors; do not imitate me in my fondness for war, nor in the exorbitant expenditure which I have incurred. Take counsel in all your actions. Endeavor to relieve the people at the earliest possible moment." It was excellent advice, for Louis's wars had been enormously expensive. During his last years revenue failed to match expenditures by about 30 per cent. The total funded debt at the time of his death was approximately two billion livres and the unfunded debt, or short-term loans, was of unknown magnitude. Louis XV was too young to understand what his great-grandfather was saying, however, and when he was grown he had forgotten it.

Reign of Louis XV: Monarchy in Decline

Louis XIV had appointed a council of trusted ministers to rule during the minority of his great-grandson; but this arrangement was brushed aside the day after the death of the Sun King, and Philip, duke of Orléans, nephew of the late king, became regent for the next eight years. Philip had long been critical of his uncle's policies. He now proposed to reissue the Edict of Nantes, recalling the exiled Huguenots; then to revive the Estates-General, after a century of neglect, and recast it in the shape of the English Parliament, of which the duke was a great admirer. Neither project was carried through. Incurably indolent, as well as extraordinarily dissolute, the regent was unable to swim against the current. There was one governmental problem which even the regent had to take seriously, however, and that was finance. It was apparent that many years of peace together with rigorous economy were absolutely essential. Peace was ac-

ceptable to the regent, who was convinced that Louis's many wars had been unwise, but the hard way of economy he rejected in favor of a financial heresy which, though now hoary with age, still has adherents.

John Law (1671-1729), a Scotch gentleman of fashion and fortune and a noted gambler, was fascinated by problems of high finance. His favorite thesis was that the activities of both industry and trade depend upon an adequate supply of currency. The precious metals then in common use were both scarce and, as then minted, of uncertain value. Law believed that gold and silver should be supplemented by quantities of paper currency, to be supplied either by the governments concerned or by banks chartered for the purpose. In his zeal to sell the idea, Law made a tour of the principal capitals of Europe. Neither the English nor the Scotch could see things his way, at the moment, but in Philip of France John Law found an eager listener and a ready convert. As fully developed, the plan included a project for retiring the national debt by selling shares in an enterprise called the Mississippi Company, organized to trade in Louisiana. For a time all went swimmingly, as in the early stages of all periods of inflation. Then as the speculative mania gripped the business world, prices, including those of shares in the Mississippi Company, skyrocketed to a dizzy height, leaving purchasing power far below. Finally came the crash (1720), with bank closures and business failures. Law died after a few years of wandering about Europe, subsisting on a small pension from the French government and occupying his mind with "figuring on an envelope." As for the Mississippi Company, it not only survived the disaster but played an important part in the development of Louisiana. The name of the modern city of New Orleans reminds us of the regent of France, for whom it was named.

Shortly after the death of the regent a former tutor of the king named Cardinal Fleury became the chief minister of the crown. The eminent ecclesiastic was past seventy when he assumed the direction of French policy. His ability had never been great. He had acquired a habit of parsimony in youth, however, and this, coupled with a prudence which was proper to his age, redounded to the advantage of France during the last twenty years of the cardinal's life. It was Fleury's view that France, satiated with conquests, was in need of a prolonged period of peace in which to regain her normal vitality. Fleury's policies merely postponed the collapse of the old regime; they did not attack its cause.

After the cardinal's death Louis fell more and more under the control of his mistresses. Indeed, Madame de Pompadour, for another twenty years or so, was the real successor of Orléans and Fleury. Indolent and indifferent, Louis XV beheld the steady deterioration of French institutions with equanimity. Satisfied that things would outlast his life, he ex-

claimed, "Après moi le deluge." The king was fond of coffee, more even than most men of his time. "What would life be worth without coffee!" he would exclaim with satisfaction as he quaffed his favorite beverage and savored its aroma. And then as the tide of his ennui, only a little receded, turned again, he would add, "And yet, what is life worth even with coffee!" In his will he wrote, "I have governed and administered badly, because I have little talent and I have been badly advised." A frank admission, to be sure; but why accept bad advice? Smallpox, which he had escaped so long, carried him off at last, and he was hastily buried in quicklime for fear of infection. Few regretted his passing. The king's son had died of tuberculosis many years earlier, and the throne now devolved upon his grandson, a youth of twenty. Well-meaning and honest, Louis XVI, like Louis XIII before him, was a country man in his tastes and no statesman. To the indolence of Louis XV, he was soon to add his own peculiar incompetence. Truly, "the reason for the failure of monarchy was the lack of a king."

CHAPTER XIII

Rise of Russia; Dismemberment of Poland

THE TRANSFORMATION of Russia into a European state and, after that, her development into a great power constitute one of the most important chapters in modern history. The tsardom of Moscow was as remote from and unknown to the people of western Europe in 1500 as was China. Movements such as the Renaissance and the Reformation had no more influence on Russia than on the Orient. Indeed, the Russians were at least quasi-Oriental in their way of life. The men wore long beards and skirts. The women were secluded in Oriental fashion. The clergy were incredibly superstitious and almost wholly ignorant. All forms of authority, as one historian observes, were clothed in violence; the father flogged his children, the husband his wife, the landlord his serfs, the bishop his priests, the tsar his nobles. Europe classed Russia with Turkey, and at the court of Henry III of France it was proposed that both be expelled from Europe in a common crusade.

The government of the tsar was a despotism—the government of an unlimited autocrat to whom the property and the very lives of his subjects were deemed to belong. On coming into his presence the subject was required to prostrate himself, touching the floor with his forehead. Some of the ceremonialism and isolation of the modern tsars was due to the fact that they regarded themselves as the heirs of Byzantium, a view which was supported by the fact that Ivan III (1462–1505) had married Sophia Palaeologus, heiress of the emperor of Constantinople, in 1472. The same Ivan adopted the famous double-headed eagle of the Byzantine emperors as his emblem, and Ivan IV (1547–1584) first assumed the title of “tsar,” the modern form of an old Slavonic word for Caesar (*Tseasar*).

The lands of the tsar, at the opening of the sixteenth century, began somewhere east of the Duna and Dnieper rivers but did not extend south of the Oka, westward tributary of the Volga. Sweden, dominant power in the Baltic, cut the Russians off from access to the sea on the northwest. Poland, with her close associate the grand principality of Lithuania, stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, thus setting a bound to Russian advance westward, besides holding in subjection considerable

areas inhabited by peoples who were Russian in culture and religion. South of the Oka lay surviving fragments of the Tartar empire, the khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea. Riding boldly northward year by year, the Tartars of this area made forays into the lands of the tsar of Moscow and carried off thousands of Russian peasants to the slave markets of the Black Sea. Fanatically Mohammedan in religion, the khanates were in close alliance with Turkey, farther south.

Early Russian Expansion

Russian expansion came first in the south. Not only were the slave raids an intolerable injury calling for reprisal, but the good soil that lay between the Oka and the Black Sea was a temptation to the land-hungry nobles and peasants of Russia. Here was rich grain-bearing land, quite different from the poorer forest land around Moscow. Groups of hardy hunters and frontiersmen of mixed race known as Cossacks pushed to the south and southeast, preparing the way for the less venturesome but more industrious tillers of the soil. One of the greatest achievements of the reign of Ivan IV, called "the Terrible," was the taking of Kazan in 1552. Four years later Astrakhan fell. This brought the Russians into contact with the Turkish Empire, and advance in that quarter stopped, for the time being, with the shores of the Black Sea still out of reach. This same tsar, the insane excesses of whose personal life have made his name a by-word, anticipated Russian expansion in another direction by thrusting westward toward the Baltic. In 1558 he took the port of Narva in Livonia and began the construction of a navy. This move aroused the fear of his western neighbors and Ivan was compelled to withdraw (1582). Poland annexed Livonia, while Sweden took Esthonia and Ingria. It was many decades before Russia broke through this Baltic barrier.

Russian expansion to the east proved to be easier and far more rapid. Only a low-lying forest-clad zone of hills separates European Russia from Siberia, and across it Cossacks and peasants soon made their way. In 1587 they founded Tobolsk on the Tobol River. In 1604 they settled Tomsk on the Obi. Twenty-eight years later they were to be found hundreds of miles eastward on the Lena River, where they founded Yakutsk (1637). In 1638 Russian pioneers reached the Sea of Okhotsk, an arm of the Pacific Ocean, and in 1697 they occupied the peninsula of Kamchatka, stretching far out into the Pacific. Early in the eighteenth century the Bering Sea was crossed and Alaska occupied, whence Russian traders and explorers pushed southward to California, coming into contact there with the Spaniards. Between them the Spaniards and Russians had well-nigh girdled the globe.

We must not suppose that Russia's eastern empire was of any especial importance to her as yet. Trappers and fur traders roamed at will through its vast extent, seeking ermine and sable; groups of peasants outfitted by the Russian government formed agricultural colonies here and there; prison camps were established. The systematic exploitation of the resources of Siberia, however, of its forests, its mines, and its agricultural wealth, has come in quite recent times.

Advent of the Romanovs

Meanwhile Russia had lost one dynasty and gained another. In 1598 died the last of the house of Rurik, a family of Swedish origin that had presided over Russia's destinies since the ninth century. There ensued a period of civil war and foreign invasion which is known as the "Time of Troubles," during which the Poles pushed eastward as far as Moscow and endeavored to install their own ruler as Russian tsar. A rising, of which a butcher and a noble were leaders, put an end to this, and a fifteen-year-old boy was installed as Tsar Michael (1613-1645), the first of the famous family of Romanov. The boy's father was a great noble, the patriarch of the Orthodox Church of Russia. The lad's greatest political asset, however, was the fact that he was the first cousin, though once removed, of one of the last of the former tsars, his election assuring a continuance, however tenuous, of the hereditary principle. Michael's grandson was the famous Peter the Great.

Early Europeanization

For some time Western ideas and Western ways had been slowly filtering through to Russia, their spread being part of that expansion which was so great a feature of the life of western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. English "merchant adventurers" founded a company for trade with Russia in the sixteenth century, making contact by rounding the North Cape and sailing through the White Sea to the mouth of the Dvina River. There Archangel developed into a thriving community as Swedish merchants joined their enterprises to those of the English. This route could not develop into a broad channel for trade, however, since the White Sea is ice-free only three months of the year. Individual Westerners, in search of opportunity, made their way into Russia on their own account—artisans, physicians, artists, soldiers of fortune—and European colonies grew up in Moscow and a few other Russian cities. The masses of the people were wholly unaffected by the slow infiltration, however, and even among the leaders of Russian society opinion was divided, those who favored Western ways being stigmatized by some as

social outcasts. Indicative of the slight progress of Western civilization is this comment by a German who visited Moscow in 1636 and wrote of the Russians as follows: "They never learn any art or science or apply themselves to any kind of study; on the contrary, they are so ignorant as to think that a man cannot make an almanac unless he is a sorcerer, nor foretell the revolutions of the moon and the eclipses unless he have some communication with devils." By the time of Peter the Great, however, the West had made some little impression on Russia.

Peter the Great

Peter the Great (1682-1725) was a giant of a man, six feet eight and a half inches tall, with superhuman energy which he often wasted in emotional frenzies and attempts to outdo his companions in the consumption of vodka. On the other hand, Peter dispensed with ceremonial and worked long hours in directing the affairs of the Russian state. In his youth he had frequented the foreign quarter of Moscow and become passionately addicted to Western ways, vices included. Peter's formal education had been of the most elementary nature, but he delighted in things mechanical and from a Dutchman named Timmermann he acquired the rudiments of various crafts. In 1697, at the age of twenty-five, the young tsar made his famous journey through western Europe, attaching himself to a diplomatic mission and visiting the various capitals as plain Peter Mikhailov. In Holland he studied shipbuilding, in England, textiles, in Austria and Prussia, military methods. Everywhere he engaged artisans, engineers, and technicians of all sorts to return to Russia with him. His journey, which lasted over a year, was terminated by the news of the revolt of the royal bodyguard, the Strelsi, or musketeers. Before his arrival in the Russian capital their attempt to dethrone Peter had been defeated, but the tsar was in time to play a part in the purge that followed. With a ferocity worthy of Ivan the Terrible Peter indulged his blood lust to the full, even wielding the executioner's sword in person.

Peter Attempts to Westernize Russia

It was Peter's purpose, apparently, to Westernize the Russian state and people, and to do it in a hurry. With restless energy he reformed the calendar and the currency, removed eight letters from the alphabet, and established vocational schools. He abolished the Strelsi, the very name being dropped, and organized an army on Western lines, in uniform, under discipline, and equipped with Western arms. This army, based on conscription, was one of the largest in Europe. Particularly interested in